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The Shape of Things

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SPAIN STANDS IN GREATER DANGER TODAY than at any other time since the founding of the republic. The immediate menace is not from the armed legions of Franco, or even from Mussolini's Black Shirts or Hitler's technicians. The chief danger to Spain, like that which overwhelmed Czechoslovakia, comes from the democracies. When the British Parliament reconvenes next week, Chamberlain's Anglo-Italian agreement will be submitted for ratification on the ground that Mussolini has fulfilled his part of the deal by a token withdrawal of 10,000 Italians from Spain. Should this agreement be ratified, Britain and France will presumably recognize Franco's belligerent rights, and Franco will then be able to use the Italian navy to starve the Spanish people into submission. Neither the British nor the French leaders seem to be influenced by the fact that Mussolini's "withdrawal" was little more than a well-staged show. Nothing is being said of the Italian troops—some 75,000 by official estimates—remaining in Spain, and nothing of the 4,500 Italian reinforcements which were landed during the period in which the withdrawal was supposedly taking place.

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AS HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT IN these columns, our government has the power to prevent this sell-out by lifting the embargo against the Spanish Loyalists. Instead of moving in that direction, however, the State Department has recently exerted itself to make the Neutrality Act even more effective as a pro-Franco weapon. We have frequently cited evidence that bombs and other war equipment were being sold to Germany for transshipment to the insurgent forces. Fragments of American bombs have been found after air raids on Barcelona and other Loyalist cities. But to our knowledge the State Department has stopped no shipments of this character to the fascist powers. It has, however, recently displayed uncommon zeal in a case in which thirty-four Canadian-made airplanes exported under license to Turkey found their way to Loyalist Spain. Investigation by the Canadian government indicated that

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the exporter had acted in good faith, and there had been no violation of Canadian law. But the State Department, learning the destination of the planes, prevented the further shipment of engines and parts ordered from the United States. Similarly the department has refused to permit planes to be exported to France unless the French government gives a specific guaranty that they will not be reexported. Such zeal may be taken as an encouraging indication that the exports of arms to belligerents can be stopped. But while the embargo remains the law of the land, we have a right to ask that the same activity be shown in unearthing violations that work to the advantage of Franco. As long as Germany and Italy can obtain unlimited war supplies, the embargo will be highly unneutral in its effect—at best. If on top of this it is enforced with an uneven hand, the result must be intolerable to all Americans who call themselves believers in democracy.

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WE WONDER IF MR. CHAMBERLAIN IS NOW so happy about Hitler's promise that he would make no further territorial demands in Europe. Those last two words are being underlined by a new German campaign for the restoration of the lost empire, opened by a propaganda bombardment intended to cause apprehension and dissension among "the enemy." No direct and formal statement of claims has yet been filed, but General von Epp, head of the Nazi Colonial Policy Office, has publicly demanded "our colonial property as a whole." He refused to reveal when and by what means these demands would be implemented. Confidently declaring military force would be unnecessary, he indicated that an initial move from the mandatory powers was expected. The hint was hardly necessary, for the British, French, and South African governments are all too obviously occupied with the question. Unfortunately, the wholesale nature of Germany's ambitions makes it difficult to buy it off at the expense of, say, Portugal. On the other hand, both Chamberlain and Daladier will find complete restitution of the former German colonies a hard policy to sell at home. The British public's weakness regarding European geography is notorious. But if it "knew nothing about Czechoslovakia," it is well enough informed about the empire to be unwilling to give Hitler a strategic foothold on both sides of Africa. A recent Gallup poll in Britain showed 85 per cent against returning the colonies and 78 per cent in favor of fighting on the question if necessary. In France submission to the German demands comes up squarely against the policy of imperial development outlined by Daladier at Marseille. The policy of conciliating fascism at all costs is thus heading for a new showdown, and the Anglo-French heroes of Munich may soon regret their failure to say "no" while there was yet time.

THE RAILROAD FACT-FINDING BOARD IS TO be congratulated both for its recommendation that the carriers withdraw their wage-cut demand, and for the convincing clarity with which it has stated its reasons. Rail wages, it reported to the President, are not high in comparison with those in other industries and a reduction would be contrary to the general trend of wage rates. Regarding the carriers' claim that an emergency existed, it pointed out that railroad earnings had been curving downward for a comparatively short time and were now showing signs of changing direction. Moreover, financial distress is not common to all the roads. To a considerable extent a wage cut would benefit companies operating on a profitable basis without giving commensurate aid to those really in difficulty. The effect on public opinion of such firm conclusions, together with the steady improvement in business conditions, make it unlikely that the carriers will risk a strike by insisting on their demands. We have previously expressed the belief that the wages issue was being raised in the hope of postponing a showdown on the fundamentals of the railroad problem. Both Congress and the Administration should now get to work on a scheme for complete reorganization, refusing to be content with partial solutions. Washington reports of concentration on a single aspect of the problem—rehabilitation of equipment—are not reassuring. That now fashionable economic umbrella, national defense, is inadequate cover for putting more public money into the railroads so long as they remain unreconstructed.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S REBUKE TO THE Dies committee was as timely as it was forthright. But Mr. Dies is not disposed to repent; he has an inexhaustible company of crackpots and gossip-mongers to keep the show going; and he has become the darling of the Republican campaign committee, as well as of the "Republicans" in the Democratic Party. Of course the committee's principal targets—whether Frank Murphy or Frances Perkins or Sheridan Downey or the host of others pilloried before the committee—are not Communists; of course the "documentary evidence" at the committee's command is largely fabrication. What of it? The Dies committee has established the principle that there are no boundaries to the abuse and falsehood which a Congressional committee will listen to, and that investigation of such slander is not its function. The press with a few exceptions has amiably collaborated by failing to expose either the background of the witnesses or the frailty of their "evidence." Instead, the New York *Herald Tribune* decries the President's "impertinence" in fighting back against a malicious onslaught; Mr. Krock in the *Times* yearns for a little more austerity but hails the committee's performance as a symptom of Congressional independence. Meanwhile, the journals

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which gave meager display to the La Follette committee's sober and documented revelations now provide front-page space for the babblings of the rabble-rousers. In his belligerent attempt to keep Paul Y. Anderson off the air, Mr. Dies has fortified the suspicions which Mr. Anderson expresses in his current *Nation* dispatch.

*

FRENCH FREEDOM WAS LOWERED INTO ITS grave with appropriate memorial orations at the Radical Socialist Congress at Marseille last week. In order to conform, both in letter and spirit, to Hitler's demands, the party officially broke with the Popular Front by terminating its alliance with the Communist Party. In approved Hitler fashion, the Socialists, as Marxists, were also subjected to a scorching attack by Premier Daladier. The break with collective security and the League of Nations was equally sharp. Owing to M. Herriot's influence, the Franco-Soviet pact was not openly assailed, but no one believes that it can survive in the face of the new orientation toward Germany and Italy. The effect of these changes on France's internal policies will be drastic. Taxes are to be sharply increased; France is to have a "steered" economy not dissimilar in principle to the totalitarian economy of the fascist states. Labor is to pay in the form of a longer work week, restriction on the right to strike, and the loss of most of the reforms gained under the first Popular Front government. If the Chamber fails to approve his program, Daladier threatens to call new elections. In this possibility would appear to lie France's one hope of checking a steady drift toward fascism.

*

THE COTTON PICKERS OF THE SOUTHERN states suffered only a few casualties as a result of their successful strike a few weeks ago, but these made up in severity what they lacked in numbers. Last week two men and a woman, all Negroes, were convicted on charges of "night-riding" and conspiracy. The two men were sentenced to two, the woman to four, years in jail by the Circuit Court of Arkansas in Mississippi County, a region of large plantations. The archaic charge of night-riding was based on the fact that they distributed leaflets during the strike; their conspiracy lay in their violation of an Arkansas statute which forbids the gathering of three or more persons during a strike. The woman drew the heavier sentence because she is an official of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. One of the most significant aspects of the case, however, is that the prosecuting attorney, in the course of the trial, challenged the right of the C. I. O. to operate in Arkansas. The conviction of night-riding, which amounts to a conviction for distributing leaflets, clearly violates the Supreme Court decision in the Lovell case. The verdicts will be appealed. We hope that public opinion all over the country will rally to the project of bringing Arkansas into the Union. The cotton pickers are doing what they can, but they cannot do it alone.

*

WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE OFFICIAL negotiations over the Polish Jews in Germany, the human beings under discussion can anticipate no more than a momentary respite. No concern for their ultimate safety will affect the decision of the two governments; the victims are despised with only varying degrees of intensity in each capital. And because that fact is clear, the precise terms of the dispute do not merit serious evaluation. On October 6 the Polish government commanded all holders of Polish passports in other countries to obtain special visas by October 29 or forfeit their citizenship; as the deadline neared, the Nazis, allegedly fearing that thousands of Polish Jews would be denationalized within Germany, launched a brutal program of sudden mass deportation. We do not pretend to know whether the Nazis' apprehensions were justified; what matters is that another set of innocent people has been caught in the Nazi trap. Now the German deportations have been temporarily halted, but if some crude bargain is struck, remember that in Warsaw wholesale deportations of native Jews are also being contemplated. The plight of the refugee takes on ever darker colors. What is being done? One hears reports of colonial schemes, of intergovernmental plans. Will there be an interminable period of evasion and delay? Our own inertia is a sign of slow submission to the same poisons which have created the international problem of the refugee.

New Weapon for Hague

JUDGE CLARK'S ruling in the Hague case suggests a practice without precedent in our law, repugnant to our institutions, and of most dangerous potentialities. In setting forth the conditions under which permits should be granted for public speaking in the parks of Jersey City Judge Clark said:

> We deem this to be the correct constitutional procedure. Before refusing the permits the municipal authorities must have proof that the present applicants at least have spoken in the past in such fashion that audiences similar to those to be reasonably expected in Jersey City have indulged in breaches of the peace. If that proof were made we think that either a copy of the speech to be currently delivered could be required *and censored* [italics ours] in the light of the reasonable apprehension of disorder of "firm and courageous" city officials or else the speakers could be bound over to keep the peace and be of good behavior.

It is easy to imagine the protest if this were Congress or

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a state legislature, instead of our newest United States Circuit Court judge, indorsing police censorship as "correct constitutional procedure."

We realize that Judge Clark's suggestion was dictum, and that his actual holdings were a rebuke to Hague; but we know, too, that dicta all too often grow into decisions, and this one in particular fits the needs and temper of the Jersey City mayor and his henchmen too closely for comfort. Nor is the sensational and sinister character of the proposal outweighed by a strong and unequivocal position on the other questions raised by the C. I. O. and the Civil Liberties Union. Something has been won, but so much less than we have a right to expect under the Constitution that jubilation is impossible. Deportations are declared illegal. So, with qualifications, are the interference of the police with the circulation of leaflets, and the parading of placards by the plaintiffs. A limited right to speak in the public parks is recognized.

The C. I. O. would be foolish not to exploit these concessions and the psychology of victory for all they are worth, but the Civil Liberties Union would be neglecting its duty if it did not appeal, as it can, from those sections of the decision which denied relief on several points of major importance. Judge Clark would neither hear the crucial evidence on the reason why owners of private halls declined to rent to the C. I. O. nor pass on the constitutionality of that "most peculiar" (the words are those of Vice-Chancellor Fielder) ordinance under which police can punish owners who allow radical or labor organizations to use their premises. Jersey City's ordinances against leaflets and placards seem clearly unconstitutional under the decision of the United States Supreme Court invalidating a Griffin, Georgia, leaflet law last March. But Judge Clark neither followed the Supreme Court by holding these ordinances unconstitutional nor made clear just how much relief he was granting. This editorial is written before the actual injunction decree has been handed down, but it would seem from the decision and the official summary issued by Judge Clark that while the police will be enjoined from interfering with the "admittedly innocuous" circulars and placards used in the past, they may be able to suppress any future leaflets or placards that they consider inflammatory or provocative.

What most requires rebuke from the higher courts is Judge Clark's position on the ordinance providing that permits for meetings in streets or parks may be refused "for the purpose of preventing riots, disturbances, or disorderly assemblage." The rule that freedom of speech and press shall be free from previous restraint was well established in the time of Blackstone. The United States Supreme Court passed on the precise point involved here when it held the Minnesota gag law unconstitutional even when applied to suppress a racket newspaper linked with crimes as serious as murder. The occasion called for uncompromising defense of our traditional liberties by Judge Clark. That his reaction should be a proposal to give the Jersey City police the power of censorship shows how far and high the infections of Hagueism can spread.

Verbal Volleying

THE dense fog surrounding foreign policy was in no way lessened by the speeches of our President and ex-President at the *Herald Tribune* Forum. Mr. Hoover, while making a polite bow to the principles of "law and free government," viewed the results of Munich with considerable complacence. Like Mr. Chamberlain he sees no perversion in bedding democracy with fascism. Our Western purity is safe, he thinks, so long as we do not impede the raping expeditions of the dictators toward the east. No wonder the Nazi press has elected Mr. Hoover as its favorite American!

The President, on the other hand, let fly another of his cannonades against aggression. His guns, however, were loaded with blanks, and the salvo was in the nature of a salute to international morality rather than a warning shot across the bows of fascism. The Nazi press reacted irritably but with less than its usual vigor. It is coming to recognize that these gestures are merely a form of emotional exercise. While our positive actions, in distinction to our negative reactions, serve to aid and abet aggression, as in Spain, we cannot expect our verbal volleyings to be taken very seriously.

The Japanese are also well aware of this, and they are unlikely to be seriously perturbed by Mr. Hull's latest note. True, it is more vigorous in tone than previous protests; it gives chapter and verse for a series of flagrant violations of American treaty rights; and it concludes with a hint of reprisals and a request for a quick answer. But is it likely to turn out to be more than a gesture? Have we any comeback to the technique of polite stalling which Tokyo has perfected during seven years of answering ineffectual foreign protests?

This time we are of course concerned with something closer to the hearts of State Department officials—and business men—than the invasion of China and the massacre of its inhabitants. We are now worried about American property rights and the exclusion of our traders from once-profitable markets. But in urging our claims to the "open door" we forget that the latest treaty which guaranteed it was the same treaty which guaranteed the integrity of China. We have acquiesced in the swallowing of China. How can we expect that our own commercial rights will not also be engulfed?

We have, of course, on numerous occasions voiced our moral condemnation of Japan's lawless proceedings. But we have vitiated the force of our sermons by underwriting the crime with supplies of munitions and raw

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materials. It is not enough to say that as war had not been declared it was better not to invoke the Neutrality Act and so deprive China also of our weapons. Could we not have embargoed trade with Japan on the ground that we could not assist openly in violating a treaty which we also had signed?

If Mr. Hull really means anything by the vague suggestions in his new note that he has a big stick behind his back, it must be that he is now contemplating some form of economic sanctions. That is to say, we may attempt to salvage some of our trade rights in China by measures which we refused to consider as a method of stopping the imperialist war which has smashed those rights. Since *The Nation* has consistently advocated a complete embargo on trade with Japan we shall not complain if the right action is at last taken for the wrong reason. But we reserve our cheers until we have better evidence that the State Department is not just nose-thumbing at aggression either for the sake of its own soul or for the election effects.

Next Week's Elections

FROM a national point of view next Tuesday's elections will be primarily a weathervane. Not by the farthest stretch of the imagination are the results likely to upset the preponderant Democratic majority in either branch of Congress, nor do objective forecasts indicate any drastic change in the nearly seven-to-one ratio in favor of the Democrats which now prevails in the state capitols. But both in an immediate political sense and as an expression of the social temper of the country they will none the less be of great significance. They will show not so much how the two parties are rated by the voters as how the voters want the two parties to go. This is true simply because party lines are tangled to a degree almost unparalleled in this country, and individual candidates are forced to deal in specific issues regardless of party affiliations.

While it may readily be admitted that in most instances the liberalism of Republican candidates is strategy of the anything-to-beat-a-Democrat variety and that the liberalism of many Democrats has a distinctly pre-election odor, the fact remains that voters will choose on the basis of campaign appeals. and in so doing will record their attitude toward legislation to protect trade unionism, old-age pensions—both the orthodox and the nut varieties—crop control, protection of civil liberties, government spending, and relief. The results will have to be examined state for state in the light of what principal issues are presented and which sides the respective candidates champion, remembering, for example, that Republicans flirt with Townsend in New England and are death to Ham-and-Eggs in California.

Because of the heavy electoral votes of New York and Pennsylvania the results in those states will have a political significance beyond the immediate future. Fortunately the party lines are clearly drawn in both, and it is far easier to equate a Democratic victory with the progressive needs of the country than is the case in New Jersey or Massachusetts. Should Governor Lehman fall in New York, Senator Wagner and Representative Mead will almost certainly go down with him. There is no doubt that this would be widely heralded as a popular repudiation of the National Labor Relations Act. It would in all likelihood make Dewey the G. O. P. Presidential candidate in 1940 and would be a blow from which Roosevelt could scarcely recover. The race is just close enough to make prophecy hazardous, but the odds are still on Lehman. The chances are that he will owe a close decision to the American Labor Party's support. Dewey's understandable reluctance to denounce the New Deal in one of its chief strongholds has lost him some conservative support and, because of the solidarity of the labor vote, given him nothing in exchange. Lehman, on the other hand, can unquestionably count on some Republicans who are impressed with his businesslike conduct of affairs at Albany and pleased with his anti-Administration stand on the Supreme Court issue last year. Nevertheless, the traditional mid-term reaction against the party in power, all the stronger for having failed to operate in 1934, is expected to cut heavily into Lehman's 1936 plurality of 521,000.

Pennsylvania's savage primary campaign has left it politically a far more doubtful state than New York. The Republicans are making excellent capital of the charges of graft at Harrisburg made by Governor Earle's own former attorney general, Charles J. Margiotti, and the Guffey New Deal machine is said to be giving the Governor no more backing than intra-party etiquette demands in his race for the Senate. On the other hand, Earle is aided by the support of both wings of the labor movement despite William Green's request to the A. F. of L. to back "Puddler" Jim Davis, the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover Secretary of Labor, and despite C. I. O. leader Tom Kennedy's pronounced coolness toward Mr. Earle. Contributing to the chances of a Democratic victory in this traditional G. O. P. stronghold is the asinine campaign of Judge Arthur H. James, Republican nominee for Governor. Financed by the unholy quartet of Pew, Annenberg, Weir, and Grundy, James has promised to burn all the legislation that Earle put on the statute books.

New Jersey and Massachusetts are glaring examples of why party labels in this election have nothing like nation-wide meaning. A victory for William Ely, Democratic nominee for Senator in New Jersey, will be one more scalp on the belt of Hague, America's outstanding authoritarian ruler; a comeback for former Governor

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Curley in Massachusetts will be a triumph for the man who once told a Boston audience, "Let no one forget that the one man more responsible than any other for the preservation of Christian civilization is Mussolini." Liberals in both states are sharply divided. Some believe that loyalty to Roosevelt includes even the acceptance of a Hague or a Curley where 1940 strategy or Congressional support for the Administration is involved; others flock to the G. O. P. by way of protest. The actual choice in either case is only less grim than the acceptance by liberals of such alternatives. The American Labor Party in New York shows how both old parties can be compelled to clean house.

From Ohio westward the agricultural policies of the Roosevelt Administration will cut a major figure in the elections. With anti-union and red-scare propaganda always in reserve for use in rural regions, Republicans are making a concerted effort to clinch the farm vote by exploiting low farm prices and AAA red tape. In Ohio, where the fight centers on the Senate race between Senator Robert J. Bulkley and Robert A. Taft, the rural vote is reliably reported to be going heavily Republican. Cleveland and Cincinnati, however, are if anything more Democratic than ever. Governor Martin Davey, unreconciled to his defeat in the Democratic primaries, is openly accused of having made a deal to support secretly the Republican nominee for governor in exchange for 30 per cent of the patronage after the election. Taft, if elected, will automatically enter the class, headed by Tom Dewey, of G. O. P. white hopes for 1940.

Kansas will probably afford the best test of the popularity of the Wallace doctrines. The farm vote in that state is admittedly decisive, and the campaign centers around low wheat prices, AAA "regimentation," and the alleged failure of the Administration to solve the surplus problem. There is much grumbling, but Administration forces expect it to be offset by the unwillingness of farmers to return to the G. O. P. for fear that such a move will be taken as a sign that they want no government crop control at all, whereas in fact they want more effective measures. Senator McGill's seat is one of the few which is in real danger of being lost by the Democrats. His opponent, Clyde M. Reed, has put up a lively quasi-liberal campaign and has to his credit the defeat of the Kansas Streicher, Gerald Winrod. McGill is coauthor of the AAA, and as in the case of Wagner his defeat would have serious strategic consequences. Iowa farmers, prospering with good corn prices, are expected to remain in the Democratic camp, although such an eventuality can hardly be counted a New Deal victory. It would mean the return to Washington of Senator Gillette, all unpurged, and the reelection of Governor Kraschel, who sicked the militia on the Maytag strikers. Wallace is actively supporting the Kraschel campaign.

The intricacies of third-party politics make the Wisconsin and Minnesota campaigns the most confusing in the country. Progressive Wisconsin offers for the Senate the choice of three conservative candidates. The only real left-winger in the field, Tom Amlie, was eliminated in the primaries by the La Follette machine to make way for Herman L. Ekern, a mild liberal but a close friend of "Old Bob" and hence, presumably, entitled to family preference. Senator F. Ryan Duffy campaigns as a New Dealer—"F. D. R. and F. R. D."—but he is definitely a liberal for reasons of strategy. Alexander Wiley is a Republican unabashed. Phil La Follette himself is seeking a fourth term as governor, and his reelection is vital to the continuance of his new National Progressive Party. There are plenty of rumblings about a deal between the La Follette and New Deal forces which will return Phil to Madison and Duffy to Washington. If there are such negotiations they are still beneath the surface, but it would not be surprising to see them emerge at the eleventh hour. In Minnesota Governor Benson, probably the most socially advanced candidate (with a chance) running in the country, has a terrific fight on his hands. He is opposed by Harold Strassen, a shrewd young Republican politician who is conducting an impressive campaign as a liberal. The red issue is bedeviling the Minnesota campaign more seriously than any other, and the Republican state auditor is openly circulating a pamphlet playing up the alleged influence of the Jews in the Farmer-Labor Party. Strassen has disavowed such tactics, but they are having a telling effect.

Up and down the West Coast the vicious anti-labor referendums on the ballots of all three states overshadow all other issues. (These proposals were dealt with fully in the article by Richard L. Neuberger which appeared in *The Nation* for October 29.) It is confidently expected that the Washington and Oregon referendums will be defeated, but unless some outstanding conservative repudiates the California measure it is all too likely to win out—and along with it Philip Bancroft, Republican candidate for Senator. Bancroft is backed by the Associated Farmers, which is as near to being fascist as any organization in this country outside Fritz Kuhn's Bund, and if elected he is guaranteed to give the Senate its outstanding labor-baiter. He has to beat Sheridan Downey, who, aside from his enthusiasm for Thirty Dollars Every Thursday, is quite normal and would doubtless make a progressive Senator. The Ham-and-Eggs nonsense, incidentally, is given scant chance of success at the polls. Downey's running mate, Culbert L. Olson, is considered a good bet to succeed Governor Frank F. Merriam. Although Olson among other things has promised to free Tom Mooney, the California A. F. of L. was urged by Green to vote for the primitive Merriam, bad as his labor record is. Fortunately Green's advice here is being heeded even less than in Pennsylvania.

It may be taken for granted that the Republicans will

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gain in Congress. After four successive defeats they can hardly do otherwise. The Democrats say they expect to lose twenty-five House seats and two Senate seats; the Republicans put their gains at eighty-three and seven. More objective estimates are that the G. O. P. will pick up between fifty and fifty-five seats in the House and four in the Senate, which compared with past mid-term changes is exceedingly mild. But more important than the numerical party realignment will be the degree of New Deal or anti-New Deal sentiment generated in the new Congress by the nature and specific results of each of the forty-eight separate campaigns. That may determine not only immediate policy but the platforms of both parties in 1940.

Investigate Mr. Dies!

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, October 31

REPRESENTATIVE DIES, like Brother Crawford's wife, is very unhappy. For his crude attempt to smear Governor Frank Murphy as "a Communist tool" on the eve of the Michigan election his ears were soundly boxed by President Roosevelt, and the most conservative editors are no longer able to suppress symptoms of acute nausea. That they forebore so long is a lasting testimonial to their gastric and olfactory fortitude. However, I suspect that what most upsets and depresses the statesman from Orange, Texas, is the report that some of his colleagues in the House will demand an investigation of the Dies committee itself as soon as Congress convenes. It is difficult to see how the House could refuse such a demand, providing a majority still believes that un-American activities should be investigated. Moreover, the House owes it to itself to purge itself of the opprobrium brought on it by the Dies committee.

From the beginning the committee's performances have been a travesty on orderly procedure. Hundreds of thousands of words of "testimony" and "documentary evidence" have been pumped into the record without the slightest pretense of ascertaining whether it was true or false, whether the witnesses were credible, or whether they were actuated by ulterior motives—as many of them so palpably were. No effort was made to protect exalted reputations against unsupported calumny. On the contrary, Dies and Representative Mosier, the ineffable lame duck from Ohio, persistently prompted and encouraged these canards, frequently interpolating some of their own. As was often remarked, it was sometimes difficult to tell when the witness was testifying for the benefit of the committee and when Dies was testifying for the edification of the press tables. But that was to be expected. Dies glories in his self-bestowed title of "president of the House Demagogues' Club," and few will question his right to it.

Representative Dies

The thing which is causing wonderment, if not admiration, is the elasticity of the committee's appropriation. The House gave it $25,000. A month ago newspapermen were told that the fund was almost exhausted. Since that time numerous witnesses have been brought from Michigan, Minnesota, and California. The fact that their testimony was obviously calculated to help Republican candidates in those states, considered in connection with the supposed state of the committee's finances, resulted inevitably in some whispering. Dies took public notice of the stories by declaring that all witnesses were receiving their expenses and five dollars a day from the committee. Subsequently Harper Knowles came on from California, and newspapermen were led to believe that he had been sent by the American Legion of that state. His list of "Communists" and "Communist tools" included the Democratic nominees for Governor and Senator in that state, together with the professor of paleontology at the University of California, John Steinbeck, the playwright, and many others. American Legion officers in California immediately disavowed him and repudiated his statements. It was also announced that he was an employee on leave of absence from the Associated Farmers, an organization notorious for its fascist tendencies and methods. Naturally, the question arises, who *did* send Knowles here? Why hasn't Dies asked that question? Does he know the answer—and is he afraid of it? Train fare from California to Washington doesn't grow on trees. Moreover, Knowles brought his "testimony" with him—neatly typed and bound, with a copy for each member of the committee and one for the press. It looked like an expensive job of preparation. Finally, at least one member of the committee has told

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reporters that it has received "outside" offers of financial assistance, adding, of course, that they were declined. If the House does decide to investigate the Dies committee, there is one question it should not fail to ask, as follows: After the resolution authorizing the Dies investigation was adopted, but before the personnel of the committee was announced, did Dies seek to persuade another member of the House to serve, telling him, "This is going to be a swell committee—there won't be a Jew on it"?

As the foregoing was being written, I received an invitation from the Mutual Broadcasting System to make a fifteen-minute broadcast Monday night, following Dies, describing the committee's procedure as I had witnessed it at first hand. The invitation resulted from a suggestion made by the President at a press conference. Dies had declared that the President had been "misinformed" about the evidence touching Governor Murphy and the tactics employed by the committee in presenting it. The President's suggestion was that reporters who had not been present during that hearing might get a good story by interviewing those who had. Several acted upon the hint, polling the men who had been present, and ascertaining thereby that an overwhelming majority considered the hearings grossly unfair and not designed to elicit the truth. In addition, I was asked to tell the story to the radio audience. From a reporter who serves him as an undercover man at the press table, Dies learned of the scheduled broadcast, and immediately took steps which illuminate his mentality and methods. He issued a statement that the Administration had cowed the system into surrendering the time and had elected me to use it. The statement contained other falsehoods characteristic of their author. The manager of the system's Washington station was informed that he would be subpoenaed to appear before the committee prior to the broadcast. All the measures to which the brave Texan resorted to keep me off the air cannot be listed now, because they are still under way. I hope to describe them fully in the next issue. Just now I cannot decide which is the more flattering—Dies's attempt to nominate me as White House spokesman or his somewhat ludicrous efforts to silence me. I trust that Heywood Broun, who was merely cut off in the middle of his second sentence when he tried to testify before the committee, will be properly abashed.

Most of this would be entirely too trivial for publication but for one fact—the fact that this obscene and degrading hippodrome is being carried on by authority of Congress, and that its real aim is to defame and defeat fine public officials such as Governor Murphy and Governor Benson.

A League of the Americas

BY NATHANIEL WEYL

Mexico City, October 24

THE congress of the American republics will come together at Lima, Peru, on December 9, at a time when the Good Neighbor policy is facing the most serious crisis of its brief career. If this crisis is weathered and the United States delegation returns from Peru with the draft protocol of an American League of Nations in its pocket, enormous impetus will be given to the Cordell-Hull-for-President campaign. Aided by the skilful publicity of Harold Hinton, the Secretary of State may discover that Lima is the gateway to the Democratic nomination.

After the débâcle of the London Economic Conference in 1933, a group of President Roosevelt's advisers came to the conclusion that Europe would emerge from the next world war debt-ridden, impoverished, and with the bulk of its capital equipment destroyed. Under these conditions South America would become one of the chief strategic areas of the world. At the Montevideo and Buenos Aires inter-American congresses the United States worked for solidary neutrality pacts which would help prevent Latin America from serving as an arsenal for European war. With the drift of the Administration away from the foreign policy set forth in the Neutrality Act, this hopeless task has been abandoned. The central problem at Lima will be that of conducting a political, economic, and conceivably military offensive against German and Japanese activities in this hemisphere.

The United States will probably work to prevent a battle on the expropriation issue on the congress floor, since this would divide the pro-American groups and revive the specter of the Colossus of the North. But its efforts will not preclude quiet but systematic activity behind the scenes to isolate revolutionary Mexico from the inner councils.

The political strategy at Lima will presumably center around the proposal of Colombia and the Dominican Republic for the establishment of a League of American Nations. Previous attempts to assert United States hegemony over Latin America in this direct fashion have been rebuffed because of the League of Nations affiliations of several of the American republics, British domi-

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nation of the La Plata nations, and ubiquitous fear of the United States. Today, however, the League of Nations lies friendless on its deathbed, and the pro-British Saavedra Lamas no longer guides Argentine foreign policy.

A League of American Nations might be everything or nothing. A replica of the anemic Pan-American Union would at least serve as a trophy for the 1940 campaign. Such an institution would doubtless be empowered to confer concerning boundary disputes and to study problems of patent law. A League virile enough to cope with European and Asiatic fascist penetration wherever it manifests itself in a threatening form is more likely to be set up at Lima. The mere existence of such an organization would deter the Latin American dictatorships from entering into close-knit political and economic agreements with the fascist triumvirate.

Naturally, nothing will be done to check American economic aid to the aggressor states of the Old World. It is quite impossible for the Roosevelt Administration to dissuade Chile, Brazil, and Argentina from selling nitrates, copper, cotton, and wheat to Germany and Japan as long as nothing is done to halt the far greater flow of war materials to these nations from our shores. Moreover, such a positive raw-material policy would have to be applied now or never. Mineral and oil sales to Germany by the Americas are destined largely for special war reserves. If European war should eventually break out, the British and French navies would probably be able to cope with any attempt to ship goods from America to the Central European axis.

None the less, concerted military measures for the defense of the American hemisphere may well be proposed at the Lima congress. It will be recalled that Secretary Hull advocated in the summer of 1937 that in view of Brazil's fear of European and Asiatic aggression the United States lease to Brazil six allegedly obsolete war vessels. The interesting thing about that proposal was not that it was rejected by Congress but that the press of Chile applauded it. It is unusual, to say the least, to find Latin American nations enthusiastic over plans to increase the armament of their neighbors. The reported explanation is that the United States planned to proffer Chile similar aid. The Brazilian and Chilean deals were generally regarded as the opening gambit in the United States navy's game for the establishment of a pan-American fleet.

This prospect is not dead. It is very possible that it will be urged at the Lima congress by some lesser Latin American country. Such a fleet would bring two great benefits. It would mean that Latin American naval cadets would be trained by United States officers, and that the hosts of Italian, German, and Japanese "advisers" who have been busily organizing fascist nuclei in the armed forces of several of the American republics would thus be eliminated. Secondly, it would forestall any attempt on the part of the Rome-Berlin axis to smuggle arms to fascist groups in the American republics, an attempt which would be enormously facilitated if Britain should give the Reich control of certain strategic portions of Portuguese West Africa as part of the Chamberlain "appeasement" program.

Secretary of State Hull

There has been some discussion of the desirability of building pan-American naval bases on our two continents with United States equipment and engineering skill. In return for their cooperation the Latin American governments would get extensive financial assistance for their armament programs.

Despite the fact that President Cárdenas advocated a pan-American navy in his speech delivered before the World Congress Against War on September 12, there is reason to believe that Mexico has reconsidered its position and is unenthusiastic about the scheme. Since the United States navy has about four times the tonnage of the combined Latin American fleets, cooperation under these conditions might become subserviency. The Latin American nations may be expected to look with favor on these unprecedented plans for inter-American cooperation to the extent that they oppose fascist influence and in direct proportion to their distance from the United States.

Turning its attention to the economic battle for Latin America's markets, the Inter-American Conference will discuss methods of removing the barriers which at present impede trade between the American nations. Now it is obvious that the mechanics of barter and compensation currency automatically create such barriers. Several years ago Germany purchased huge quantities of Brazilian coffee with compensation currency, dumped the coffee on the world market, shattered the world price structure, and left Brazil with insufficient dollar exchange to finance United States imports. As a result American exporters to Brazil were compelled to accept short-term credit moratoria. Within the Brazilian market their products were undersold 20 to 40 per cent by government-subsidized German merchandise.

The ebb and flow of trade between Germany and Latin America is largely dependent on the course of raw-material prices. When these collapse, the American republics are forced to accept the bait of compensation-currency trade agreements. The recent 40 per cent depre-

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ciation of the Mexican peso has given German imports a competitive advantage, since the Spartan economics of Berlin is not based on currency fluctuations. Washington's trump card in the trade war is that Latin America desperately needs capital for industrialization and cannot obtain it in Berlin, Rome, or Tokyo. Thus the Export-Import Bank was resuscitated this summer and armed for a big Latin American campaign. A survey of Europe had convinced the bank that actual and impending wars made the prospect of loan repayment precarious, and it had withdrawn from extensive negotiations with China when the Japanese invasion began.

On July 23 the Export-Import Bank put down $5,000,000 to finance a public-works program in Haiti. The Haitian government had been turned down in Wall Street and was negotiating with a German engineering group. The United States government was obliged to come to the rescue. Subsequently, the Export-Import Bank financed the purchase of Baldwin locomotives for the Chilean railroads and negotiated with Brazil for the sale of American railroad equipment, offering ample credit facilities. Warren Lee Pierson, president of the bank, made a trip this summer to the South American republics to dangle federal funds in front of impecunious governments. It is not accidental that Mexico is to be a Cinderella at the Lima party. Clearly, the Export-Import Bank's credit operations will help dissuade other Latin American nations from dealing in a cavalier fashion with United States corporate holdings.

Through its new cultural-cooperation division, the State Department will be able to popularize democratic ideals in South America. One of the most valuable results of the Buenos Aires congress was the stimulus it gave to the exchange of students and professors between the United States and Latin America. Scientific cooperation and a broader exchange of information should do much to counteract the fascist propaganda drive.

What is the attitude of the Latin American people toward the Good Neighbor program for a close-knit pan-American alliance? Within the trade-union movement of this continent and a half there is virtually unanimous support of the principles of the Good Neighbor policy and unanimous condemnation of the Hull crusade against Mexico. The A. P. R. A. Party, the strongest single political party in Peru, opposes any close alliance with the United States on the ground that the Good Neighbor may become the Big Bad Wolf after the 1940 elections. The Apristas are waging guerrilla warfare against the far stronger Popular Front group. The A. P. R. A. leadership—which is to a certain extent influenced by Trotsky—vigorously opposes the Popular Front demand that the struggle of the Latin American people against British and United States imperialism be subordinated to the fight against fascist influence.

Unfortunately, the pan-American congress will meet in the most dictator-ridden country of these two continents. It will convene within a stone's throw of Peru's brand-new Caproni assembly plant, and its delegates will be guarded by a secret police which is being trained by an Italian fascist mission. The A. P. R. A. has already declared that eloquent speeches in favor of democracy will be sadly out of place in a country where trade unions are illegal and their leaders have been tortured to death.

Argentina may well oppose the new pan-American policy, since United States influence in South America is exerted through its chief rival, Brazil. Paraguay is a satellite of Argentina and will of course follow its leadership. A vigorous pan-American policy would depend on the solidarity of the progressive Latin American states with reactionary, but Washington-minded, Brazil, Venezuela, and Chile.

Mexico feels that it has been let down by the democratic powers. While its petroleum sales to the fascist powers are not large, they may increase in the near future. This will not indicate a growth of Nazi political influence, but will simply mean that President Cárdenas has no intention of committing economic suicide for a principle which nobody else observes. Despite these economic complications, Mexico will be the chief rallying point for an anti-fascist continental program. Cárdenas's foreign policy has been singularly direct. He has not made eloquent speeches in favor of democracy and then permitted the maintenance of arms embargos against embattled democratic peoples. Nor has he praised the dictators of certain Latin American republics in the name of the nascent pan-American democracy which they are opposing.

The decision to put Castillo Najera, Mexican ambassador to the United States, in charge of the Lima delegation instead of the brilliant, anti-Washington diplomat, Isidro Fabela, indicates that Mexico will endeavor to cooperate with the State Department. Should there be a cleavage on the expropriation issue, however, several American republics would probably join Mexico in opposing the United States. Cuba, which is rapidly and quietly returning to more democratic procedures, may be expected to support the Mexican delegation. Costa Rica and Ecuador, which have recently expropriated or penalized United States corporations, may also conceivably range themselves on that side. Progressive Colombia should form another link in the left-wing Latin American chain. It is understood that Mexico will make proposals for the elimination of passport barriers between the various Latin American republics as the initial step toward Cárdenas's ideal of common Latin American citizenship. Should the United States-Mexican controversy be aggravated in the next month, the tendency of the other nations to support Latin American, as opposed to pan-American, unity will be strengthened.

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Republican in Sheep's Clothing

BY HELEN WOODWARD

BRUCE BARTON is chairman of the board of the sixth largest advertising agency in the United States. The names of its clients thunder down the world of business: United States Steel, du Pont, Chase National Bank, General Foods—two hundred of them.

But Mr. Barton has another group of clients whose voice sounds small in the world of business, the people who sent him to Congress from the Seventeenth District of the city of New York and who are being asked to send him again.

Bruce Barton

Mr. Barton is a clever man, and he may be able to fuse the needs of the two groups into a neat amalgam. He has done it before—in words. He made his first great splash in advertising when he fused the religion of Christ with the religion of business and introduced Jesus as "the greatest sales manager who ever lived," the man who sold Christianity to the world. (He didn't. St. Paul did, but it was near enough.) Barton's two books, "The Man Nobody Knows" and "The Book Nobody Knows," became national best-sellers. He was amazed when the critics roasted them.

Though Barton's talk is sometimes cynical, business really has for him a kind of mystic quality. When he turns cynical he gives an uncomfortable impression that he is merely trying to be one of the boys. He seems more at ease in sentimental idealism, and he comes by it naturally. Barton's father, whom he adored, was a preacher, a man of simple and sincere religious faith who wrote a naive life of Lincoln. The son combines the simple religious precepts of his father with the practical conviction, which he continues to hold, that if you save the pennies, the pounds will take care of themselves.

The combination has proved highly profitable, for whatever the critics might think of his books, his clients were glad to learn that business, like religion, was a service, and his advertising agency flourished. Other ad men are bitter about the religion-sales combination, but many a one would have used it if he had known how or could have looked in the mirror without laughing in his own face. Barton's firm is Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn. The hard-headed Durstine is its biggest stockholder and its real boss. But it is best known for Barton and his "spiritual" appeal.

The technique which Barton made famous has now gone out of style in business. But he can't get away from the Kingdom of Heaven, and as candidate he is now urging the Republicans "to become as little children" so that they can enter the "kingdom of political favor." *Time* calls him "the amateur evangelist," and he looks the part—a tall, handsome man, with sandy hair, delicate, fine features, and bright blue eyes. The nose seems a little sharp, the lips too thin, and the whole face caught in tight effort, but the smile is ready and agreeable. To some his deprecatory manner seems to indicate modesty—to others a mock humility.

Barton is not as active in the agency as he used to be. On important new accounts it is said that he writes the pattern ads—enough copy so that assistants can carry on. And after employees of the agency have been laboring for months, Barton comes in at the end to dazzle the wavering client. He never comes in cold. His entrance is prepared, hinted at, played up, like that of the hero of a well-made play.

In the same way he appears on the political scene as a showpiece for the Republican Party. Bruce Barton, statesman, is to be sold to the voters like Borden's milk or the United States Steel Corporation. His political campaign is being conducted according to a well-established advertising pattern. When an advertising agency sets out to sell a product it asks first a number of questions: What is our strongest market? What is the customer buying now? What sort of copy will sell the goods?

In this case the market is, of course, the voters. For the last few years the voters have been buying the New Deal. The Gallup tests, in which advertisers rightly have confidence, show that the voters still like Roosevelt and the New Deal but are worried about the cost. They like the goods but are doubtful about the price. That's easy. As shrewd advertising men, the Barton backers are not going to buck the tide. They are going to tell the voters that the Bruce Barton brand is the same thing as the New Deal, only safer and cheaper. Barton's line, then, is to praise the New Deal. The Democrats have often had good ideas, he says, even better ideas than the Republicans. But it takes the Republicans to make the ideas work. He would replace the "bright little boys in Wash-

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ington" with himself and "plain, old-fashioned good management" by the "best-trained minds of the land." And this will reduce taxes. How? Try us and see. In this talk Barton uses a tone of reasonableness—"it's unfair to call Green, Hillman, or Dubinsky 'communistic.' " He doesn't run around calling people reds. That line of talk didn't sell the goods in 1936. He knows all the tricks. He says, "We talk about the undistributed-profits tax, the capital-gains tax, economic laws, business indices, and individual initiative. These are words that mean nothing to the man in the street. They can be made to mean something. They can be translated into cheaper, more wholesome food, into better clothing, into more attractive homes, into good health, inexpensive travel, and security for old age."

How about the pictures for this copy? The chief illustration shows Bruce Barton with a jolly grin on his face. It conveys little impression of the actual man, but it is good selling copy. Then to show what a plain, democratic man he is, there are photographs of Barton talking with taxi drivers, bankrupt business men, and Bowery stiffs.

Barton has taken care, since he was elected the last time, to sell himself to his fellow-legislators. A new Congressman is supposed to keep quiet and wait his turn. But Barton has a pen, and he has used it to praise the members of Congress and exercise his talent for pointing out historical parallels. They are fine fellows who work hard and think even harder. He has discovered four coming Lincolns sitting there unnoticed. Representatives Dudley White, Charles Halleck, Dewey Short, and Everett Dirksen make up this quartet of unrecognized Emancipators. Vice-President Garner, pet of the reactionary Republicans, is also wonderful, according to Barton.

Barton's sales campaign fits in with the new national line of the Republican Party, which is cultivating young Republicans, old Democrats, and, mildly, the common man. It may take him back to the House from a silk-stocking district, but is it solid and credible enough to make him Senatorial or even Presidential timber later on? As a seller of advertising, his copy has always been addressed to the upper middle class. People making less than $1,000 a year don't buy much advertised stuff, and the average advertising man doesn't know how to talk to them. As to people on relief—they don't live in the clean, nice advertising world at all.

As a candidate for the Senate or the White House he would have to intensify his appeal to the small man. Yet as chairman of the sixth largest advertising agency in the country he would still be representing his big clients. The workingman believes in labor unions, but how about the strike-breaking Remington Rand? The people want lower public-utility rates, but do Consolidated Edison, Southern New England Telephone, and Niagara Hudson Power? The voters would like better bread for less money, but what does General Baking think of this? Can Barton look out for the consumer and the farmer and also please Borden's Farm Products?

The New Deal talk goes well with a client here or there, like General Electric, which is favorable to the Administration, but if Barton really were to fight for the small man what would happen to his other big accounts? The answer is already available. In spite of his praise of the New Deal, Remington Rand, du Pont, and the others haven't taken away their accounts. The corporations know far better than the small man the difference between a package and its contents. They know that Bruce Barton has opposed the New Deal consistently; that although he has always been a foe of "government spending" he attempted to raise the appropriation for investigating TVA from $50,000 to $250,000 and planned similar investigations of AAA, social security, and WPA. They know that in Congress he fought the proposal to investigate monopolies with the argument that it would not hurt big business but would affect little business.

Topping all that there was Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn's "March of Minnesota," an outrageous piece of sugar-coated anti-labor propaganda. This was a radio program running for twenty-one weeks, trimmed up with music and comedy. It was financed by big capital, especially by the utilities. Its idea was to cover the farmer-labor groups with the tar of communism and to prove that labor hindered recovery. The plan was meant to spread out from Minnesota and to cover the whole country. On the West Coast it was to be the "Cavalcade of California"; in Massachusetts, "The March of Massachusetts." The plan has been held up for the moment, perhaps because it didn't succeed in preventing the nomination of Benson in Minnesota.

In 1930 Barton wrote admiringly of Mussolini: "How can we develop the love of country, the respect for courts and law, the sense of national obligation which Mussolini has recreated in the soul of Italy? Must we abolish the Senate and have a dictatorship to do it? I sometimes think it would be almost worth the cost." But he is not really a fascist, though there is nothing to indicate that he objects to the fascist methods of one of his big clients, Remington Rand, inventor of the Mohawk formula. Actually he prefers persuasion to force. He doesn't pretend to be a great leader himself; he's merely the medium through which noble thoughts can be made intelligible to the masses. It's an old advertising game.

On the basis of his record, Barton shouldn't get a single lower-income vote; but he has the means for getting newspaper publicity, and this wins votes and makes him important politically. His agency hands out forty million dollars' worth of advertising a year. He is welcomed to the Saints and Sinners Club, and the newspapers play it up. He talks it over with a bootblack, and that's a story. Walter H. Liebman, a hundred per cent New

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Dealer, and George Backer of the American Labor Party, are running against him. Try to find out what they're doing by reading the papers! The only newspapers in New York that have so far resisted the spell are the *News* and the *Post*. Most newspapers would like Bruce Barton anyhow, because he's for old-time capitalism in up-to-date language. But even if they didn't, his forty million dollars of advertising business would settle all doubts. You might as well argue with a loud-speaker on your radio. Besides, he knows all about getting free publicity. His firm is building up a handsome business as a press agent—no, public-relations counsel. If his political career fizzles out, the present build-up will make him the No. 1 press agent of America.

China's Wounded

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

Hongkong, September 20

ONE of the most horrible things in the present war in China is the condition of the Chinese wounded. It is like that of the British wounded during the Crimean War, or the American wounded during the Civil War. In many Chinese armies the situation beggars description. Very few of the severely injured live to reach any dressing station or army hospital, and the wounds of almost all the others are infected by the time they have traveled the long route to the rear. Often men do not get medical care for two weeks. Because of bad organization, indifference, incapacity, and corruption the Army Medical Service itself evacuates few of the wounded. This service is done by their soldier-comrades. In places where mobilization for the purpose has been allowed by the authorities, the people help evacuate the wounded. But in many places such mobilization is not permitted, since politicians and military men fear the people.

The Army Medical Service and the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission have established receiving and dressing stations on lines of communication, but the conditions in them, as in the army hospitals in the rear, vary according to the training and outlook of the men in charge. Stations under Red Cross medical units or the very few modern Chinese doctors who have entered the Army Medical Service are in good condition. Others can be described as horrible. The wounded lie on rush mats on the floor or on boards stretched across trestles in abandoned warehouses, schools, and temples. These buildings are often dark, dank, dirty places with broken floors and with rats romping in the lofts and along the rafters. Swarms of flies hover over the men and around their chipped, uncovered cups of drinking water. Most army hospitals have no sheets, and a man's cotton jacket is his pillow. On networks of cord and wire stretched above the beds hang the towels and clothing of the patients. It is sometimes difficult to see their faces beneath the hanging rags. Soap, toothbrushes, and toothpaste are unknown luxuries. Statistics show that 20 per cent of the wounded have tuberculosis, beri-beri, or dysentery, and malaria takes a heavy toll. The operating table is often a board covered with a piece of unbleached cloth; medical and surgical supplies are insufficient and at times almost non-existent. Most of the wounded are emaciated, their daily food allowance being 20 cents for a private and 25 cents for an officer. Only in hospitals where soldiers' committees control the food funds is food supplied without graft.

Bad as conditions are, they show some improvement over those of a year ago. This is due to the tireless labor of a few capable army and Chinese Red Cross doctors and to campaigns in the press. For nearly ten years the Chinese government has been trying with the aid of German advisers to create a modern army equipped with the best weapons of the Western world. Yet when war broke out it had done nothing to build up a corresponding modern medical service. Even at present there is no central, controlling Army Medical Service. Instead, a division or army commander appoints his own medical officer, who may know little or nothing of medicine. The appointed "medical" officer is given a certain sum of money and told to purchase equipment and supplies for the care of the wounded of the division or army and to organize a sanitary service. The door is thus left wide open to incompetence and corruption. Equipment is not standardized, supplies are usually inadequate, and the personnel is indifferently trained. It is rare to find a qualified doctor in the Army Medical Service; his assistants are often so illiterate and untrained that they are incapable of offering even elementary first-aid treatment. Furthermore, the men in the medical units are of poor physique, since strong men are quickly transferred to the fighting ranks, and are therefore frequently unable to evacuate the wounded from the line to divisional stations. Even were it efficient, the Army Medical Service would be handicapped by the fact that it is never informed of tactical developments until a military operation is concluded at the front and so is unable to furnish aid quickly. Also the medical officers, rightly or wrongly,

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possess no authority, and are treated with little respect by officers or men.

Despite everything, however, changes are being effected in the Army Medical Service and in the attitude of the public toward the wounded. In some army hospitals the presence of Red Cross medical units is still resented, since these modern, efficient, well-trained medical workers show up hospital methods, but in most places they are welcomed, and the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission is receiving more calls for trained personnel than it can supply. The most rapid improvement in the care of the wounded, like many developments in China, was the result of political maneuvers. During the fighting around Hsuchow progressive elements in the country, supported by the Kwangsi Army commander, General Li Chung-jen, demanded that the masses be mobilized as stretcher-bearers. Reactionary political cliques tried to prevent this mobilization of the people, but it was finally accomplished and contributed greatly to the Chinese defense in that region.

Of the 275 army hospitals 150 are base hospitals in the rear. Some surgical hospitals for special cases are in charge of modern young Chinese doctors who have entered the Army Medical Service. The Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission has also furnished the technical staff for a number of institutions. But most army hospitals are still extremely primitive. A medical conference held in Changsha on July 19, at which a representative of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was present, received reports from thirty hospitals in the region. Of these only three were declared to be good, eight were fair, and the rest utterly impossible. The deplorable conditions were admitted by all, but many of the proposals for improvement were unacceptable to the Red Cross Medical Relief Commission. This was typical of the way most of China's problems are handled: the problem is recognized, but solution is too difficult.

That some Chinese can cope with the problem of caring for the wounded is proved by the example of Dr. Loo Chih-teh, chief army medical officer in charge of hospitals on the routes of communication. Dr. Loo is one of the most efficient and capable Chinese army doctors and organizers and is loved by every wounded soldier who has ever seen him. Dr. Loo had his medical headquarters in a temple in a village outside Nanchang. There he kept medical supplies, trucks, and ambulances, and treated hundreds of wounded in transit. The Japanese learned of the place through their spies and bombed the temple, killing most of the wounded and destroying the supplies and trucks. Dr. Loo's very clothes were blown off, but he managed to reach Hankow. There he borrowed clothing, collected trucks and medical supplies, asked for Red Cross medical units, and left for the front again before the day was over. The next morning, by order of Dr. Robert K. S. Lim (D.Sc. Edinburgh and F.R.S.E.), director of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission, nine Chinese Red Cross medical units—180 doctors, nurses, and dressers—left with supplies for the front, and four more units were ordered to go upriver from Ichang to the front. This is but one instance of the ability and heroism of Chinese medical men. The Japanese bomb and machine-gun from the air everything that moves in the various battle sectors. Red Cross cars and trucks with their insignia clearly painted on their sides and tops have been attacked, and hospitals have been deliberately destroyed. Japanese planes swoop down and machine-gun stretcher-bearers.

The reverse of the picture—the indifference and red tape in army hospitals—has been described by Dr. H. Talbot, a British surgeon now with the Chinese Red Cross Medical Service. On a visit to the base hospital at Nanchang in July, Dr. Talbot found the wounded lying unwashed and untended, while swarms of flies hovered over them and foul dressings littered the floor. At ten o'clock in the morning no army doctor had appeared to care for them. Dr. Talbot reported this to the Generalissimo in Hankow and afterward was sent to Changsha with authority to pick out wounded men and operate. In the temporary receiving stations in Changsha he found dozens of severely wounded men who had been there for weeks. Horrified, he ordered them transferred to hospitals where they could be operated on. But the hospitals refused to take them because there were no beds. Dr. Talbot investigated and found that some of the wounded were walking about almost recovered and could surrender their beds to the new cases. But no, they could not do that since it is an army rule that the wounded can remain in the hospitals until they receive their back pay and their wound gratuity. The recovered men had not yet received this pay and so could not be put out of the hospital. The severely wounded were obliged to remain in the temporary dressing stations without proper care.

Dr. Talbot, however, has paid tribute to the skill and devotion of individual Chinese doctors. It is the general view of foreigners in China that the worst foreign doctor is better than the best Chinese—and some Chinese in high authority also believe this. But Dr. Talbot declared to us in Changsha that he had much to learn from the marvelous dexterity of the Chinese surgeon operating at the table next to him. And one day last summer he learned something else about the Chinese. On that day the Japanese bombed Changsha. I was at Red Cross headquarters in company with Mrs. Hilda Selwyn-Clarke, wife of the Medical Director of the Hongkong government. A bomb landed just behind headquarters, blowing in the ceilings of the operating rooms of the adjoining hospital. Dr. Talbot halted work in the midst of an operation; he had never been bombed before and

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his nerves were so shaken that he could not continue. The Chinese surgeon at the next table lifted his head for a moment, listened, then went on operating, his hand steady. Soon the mangled bodies of the dead and dying civilians began to arrive. The experienced foreign surgeon was overcome with horror. The Chinese cleared the rooms and the operating tables and set to work.

Unfortunately, many modern Chinese doctors lack national consciousness. This is revealed by the fact that of the 6,000 scientifically trained Chinese doctors, only about 1,000 have volunteered for war service. The Chinese government has not yet conscripted doctors as it conscripts workers and peasants, though every patriotic Chinese medical man believes that they should be conscripted.

One of the most constructive efforts being made to raise the standard of the Army Medical Service is the new medical training school at Changsha. This was started under the joint auspices of the National Health Administration, the army, and the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission. Dr. Robert K. S. Lim is director of the school, and has supplied the teaching staff. The courses are short. An ambulance unit of 120 men graduated and left for the front in July. The other 300 students are volunteer doctors and nurses, all men. More cannot be trained at present because of lack of funds. Yet for the sum of 500,000 Chinese dollars a year, 3,000 medical men could be given short-term training in this institute. Efforts to get money abroad for it have so far failed; no money now collected abroad reaches the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission. It is all given to the International Red Cross Committee and is used to finance missionary hospitals and care for civilian refugees. The wounded of the Chinese Army do not benefit, save the very few who can be sent long distances to missionary hospitals. At present some 3,000 are in missionary hospitals, whereas 223,000 wounded are in army hospitals.

In the Wind

MOST PRESS accounts of the Dies committee hearings have failed to report the many boners committed by witnesses and by Dies himself. When Dies heard that a man named John Reid had addressed a civil-liberties meeting in Lansing last year he asked, "Was that the man who founded the John Reed Club?" Witness Albert Kittock presented "documentary evidence" that certain persons belonged to the Communist Party. The evidence was a leaflet listing them as party members—written by Kittock himself. Lieutenant Harold Mulbar of the Michigan police described a labor demonstration in which he said reds took part. "Were they playing the 'Third Internationale?'" queried Dies. "We received that report," said Mulbar. Ralph Knox described a meeting he had with a red government official on the thirteenth floor of a government building—but no government building in Washington has more than twelve floors.

THE LATEST edition of the "Encyclopedia Italiana" became obsolete almost as soon as it was published. The volume carried this comment on the British fascist movement: "Because of their anti-Semitic tendencies, and similarly because of their admiration for A. Hitler, of whom they are more faithful imitators than they are of B. Mussolini, they cannot, despite their name, consider themselves the most representative of the ideals of fascism in England."

NUMEROUS FOREIGN correspondents have reported the nickname for Prime Minister Chamberlain current in France: *J'aime Berlin.* By the time the story reached a columnist on the Washington *Post* it had been so mutilated that it appeared as follows: "Frenchmen in Washington have nicknamed Chamberlain *J'aime Hitler,* which is a sort of a pun; it sounds like Jimmy Hitler but it means 'I Love Hitler.'"

A PROMINENT Chinese diplomat was recently asked at Geneva whether the Munich pact would seriously affect China. "Well," he answered, "we have been getting a fair amount of armaments from the Czechs. We shall lose those. But after all we are not nearly so unfortunate as they. We have to defend ourselves only against our enemies."

PUBLISHERS OF Beryl Levy's book on Justice Cardozo sent an advance copy to George Santayana at his home in Italy, soliciting his comment. In his reply Mr. Santayana said that he had been a close friend of Justice Holmes but had never heard of Justice Cardozo.

IN THE effort to brand Governor Benson of Minnesota a Communist, Republican campaign leaflets have been using a photograph of the Governor said to have been taken at a New York peace parade. The picture shows him seated in an automobile beside Beryl Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; on the running-board is a youth wearing a cap with the inscription "Young Communist League." Benson supporters claim that the picture represented trick photography. They point out (1) that no such negative can be found in the files of any newspaper whose photographers covered the parade; (2) that in the picture Whitney's left shoulder is obscured by a pillar which seems to be lodged in the automobile; and (3) that not a single bystander can be seen in the background, although the parade took place on crowded New York streets.

SCOOP: On October 26 Walter Winchell's column carried the report that "the Chief Executive's patience with the Dies committee is getting very short." On the same morning the President's statement attacking the Dies committee was published on front pages throughout the country.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Open Letter to Winston Churchill

DEAR MR. CHURCHILL: I have read with great care and much admiration the radio appeal which you recently made to the American people to stand by the democracies ere it is too late to save the world from the dictators and their conscienceless flouting of all that England and America have held dear. Like everything else that you write or say it was brilliantly expressed. On its face your case seems perfect, but the minute it is analyzed from the American point of view it breaks down completely. Undoubtedly you will have received many words of approval from members of our privileged groups, from the survivors of the Anglophiles who so eagerly put us into the last World War on your side, from our navy and army people who ever seek excuses to put huge armament burdens upon our people, from some in our government, and from our Communists. But as for the rest of my countrymen, your words will fall upon deaf ears.

The American people as a whole still have some of that shrewd common sense of which Lincoln was so proud, and they have not lost their memories by any means. They know that they were led into war in 1917 under false pretenses and that as the outcome of that resort to force democracy was not saved but endangered as never before. They will agree with you that democracy has its back to the wall. But to induce them to go to your rescue again, you will have to prove to them that another resort to arms would not produce something even worse than a Hitler and a Mussolini. If they have not lost all their intelligence they will at least ask as the price of their participation that in the event of victory they shall write the peace, for they know that it was the abominable Treaty of Versailles which produced the dictators and finally resulted in Hitler's winning the World War by the dreadful surrender at Munich—the worst betrayal of democracy on record.

Your opposition in the Commons shows that you know exactly how shameful and needless that surrender was. But not even you can foresee how far-reaching and how dreadful the consequences will yet be. The man responsible is your Prime Minister, the head of the party to which you also belong. Yet you actually are asking us to give this man a blank check. I realize that you are not asking us to enter into a direct military alliance with your country. You only ask our moral support and the assurance that if worst comes to worst we shall rush to your rescue. But don't you see that that is tantamount to giving Chamberlain the assurance that whatever he does, however fearful the blunders he may make in the future, we are at hand to back him up and save him from the consequences of his follies? No British Prime Minister, it seems to me, should have that assurance, not if his name should be Churchill or Attlee or Bevan or Lansbury or anything else. If I were an Englishman I should be just as opposed to his receiving a blank check from America. No statesman should be allowed to feel that he can play his game with such a card in his hand.

Certainly you cannot ask us to enter into any such arrangement unless you give us a voice in the conduct of your foreign affairs. You cannot expect the United States to risk the lives of its sons without having the right to make sure that they shall not be sacrificed to incompetence, to blind ambition, to lack of vision, to sheer moral cowardice, or to downright treason to democracy itself. The Munich calamity was not solely the creation of Chamberlain; he was paying then for the blunders of his predecessors as well as his own—the blunders of Versailles and of the Ruhr, of those who permitted the invasion of the Rhineland and the betrayal of Ethiopia, Austria, Spain, Manchuria, and China. In every one of these cases your country's course was a betrayal of democracy, and yet you ask us to underwrite any errors your government may make in the future.

Finally, I must point out to you that many over here feel that we owe no higher duty to democracy, to decency, to humanity itself than to keep this country out of the next war. For we know that the day this country enters a war democracy will die here, and that there will be precious little hope of reviving it whether we win or lose. To defeat the fascists we shall have to descend to their methods of control and warfare. Already we have plans made and laws passed which make it certain that the instant we go to war the government will take over the whole of industry, control every phase of business life. Even if this were not the case, we should still feel that if war comes to you again we can do you no better service than to stay out. You Europeans will all be bankrupt whether you win or lose. Somebody ought to be left the means to put the world together again—if that is possible. As for the claim that if we tell the world we intend to stand by you there will not be a war, that is so childish in the light of the record of Hitler and Mussolini that you will forgive me if I do not comment upon it.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S book on "Power" is one of the more lucid expressions of the return to skepticism that is taking place wherever men are still free to think and speak—and no doubt also where they are not. The recoil from absolutes, of whatever color, has served to rehabilitate the individual as the unit of civilization, and has set in motion a growing movement to reexamine and separate from the dross of propaganda the social and human values, both old and new, best designed to promote his economic and intellectual freedom. To the current obsession with the state Mr. Russell, who himself envisions a world economic organization, opposes the self-evident principle that "the organized life of the community is necessary, but it is necessary as a mechanism, not something to be valued on its own account. . . . Those who believe in the Corporate State maintain that our highest activities are collective, whereas I should maintain that we all reach our best in different ways, and that the emotional unity of a crowd can only be achieved on a lower level."

Being an educator, Mr. Russell lays great stress on the training of children for their adult function as members of a democracy; and he makes concrete suggestions in one of his most engaging passages:

> Education should be designed to counteract the natural credulity and the natural incredulity of the uneducated: the habit of believing an emphatic statement without reasons, and of disbelieving an unemphatic statement even when accompanied by the best of reasons. I should begin in the infant school, with two classes of sweets between which the children should choose: one very nice, recommended by a coldly accurate statement as to its ingredients; the other very nasty, recommended by the utmost skill of the best advertisers. A little later I should give them a choice of two places for a country holiday: a nice place recommended by a contour map, and an ugly place recommended by magnificent posters.
>
> The teaching of history ought to be conducted in a similar spirit. There have been in the past eminent orators and writers who defended, with an appearance of great wisdom, positions which no one now holds: the reality of witchcraft, the beneficence of slavery, and so on. I should cause the young to know such masters of eloquence, and to appreciate at once their rhetoric and their wrong-headedness. Gradually I should pass on to current questions. As a sort of *bonne bouche* to their history, I should read to them what is said about Spain (or whatever at the moment is most controversial), first by the *Daily Mail* [in America read the Hearst press], and then by the *Daily Worker;* and I should then ask them to infer what really happened. For undoubtedly few things are more useful to a citizen of a democracy than skill in detecting, by reading newspapers, what it was that took place.

Mr. Russell hastens to add that he would not wish to preach a purely negative emotional attitude. He recognizes that the cultivation of strong emotions having desirable social consequences is more difficult than the generation of hate and fear, and that economic circumstances play a crucial part. Yet he insists that "something can be done . . . in the course of ordinary education, to provide the nourishment upon which the better emotions can grow."

Beside Mr. Russell's book set Erika Mann's "School for Barbarians." Here is the relentless tale, documented mainly from Nazi sources, of the deliberate and complete distortion of the mind, will, and body of childhood. The child's three circles of security—the home, the school, and the church—have been systematically violated and corrupted. All three, in their own various manifestations, have sinned against the individual. This is particularly true of the church, and no sympathy need be wasted on either side in the current battle between the Nazis and the Pope. But if we substitute for these three symbols the emotional, the intellectual, and the spiritual life of the child, we perceive the real significance of the Nazi attack. The final impact of Miss Mann's book is that of genuine tragedy, first, because it *is* tragedy and, secondly, because the tale moves forward with the momentum of a profound feeling which is all the more effective for being seldom directly expressed. To me the epitome of the book and of Nazi education is to be found in these two almost symbolic sentences:

> The highest class [in drawing] is to concentrate on gas masks. They are "eminently suitable for portrayal, since they simplify the more difficult form of the human head."

Even the physical health of German children is being impaired by forced patriotic marches with the Jungvolk.

> Professor Schede of Leipzig reported . . . that in his examination of the Jungvolk, more than 50 per cent of those on workers' duty and liable to military service suffer from lessened capacity of the foot; and the majority of these have consequently weakened spines.

Everyone who has anything to do with the life or education of children—and those who merely like to see them playing in a park—should read this book.

Ben Belitt, formerly on the staff of *The Nation,* whose first book of poems has just been published, was the innocent provocateur of a civil war which raged for several summer weeks in the columns of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch.* The immediate issue was a poem in *The Nation* called Tarry Delight, and the affair started when The Cavalier, a columnist in the Richmond paper, launched against it the usual attack reserved for modern "difficult" poetry. The letter-writers, and even the editor, took it up with the exuberant determination to fight it out on those lines if it took all summer. The whole affair, as one correspondent pointed out, was highly instructive, and it is something that poetry became a living issue in an American newspaper, but it would be too much to say that the issue was settled. Modern poetry is likely to be difficult for good and sufficient reasons—though that does not mean that it would not be better for all concerned

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if it were not difficult. Christopher Caudwell, an English critic who died in Spain for the Loyalist cause, made the remark in his recently published book, "Illusion and Reality: A Study of the Sources of Poetry," that "poetry cannot be separated from the society whose specific human activity secretes it." To put it another way, poetry is a distillation, as most other forms of literary art are not in any similar degree, of social and personal experience and values—a much more dynamic thing than Wordsworth's "emotion recollected in tranquillity." To carry the metaphor a bit too far, for the sake of emphasis, we may as well expect to extract from our present confusion great poetry having meaning for a broad section of the literate public as hope to distil good liquor in any important quantity from a mash whose constituents are continuously changing in a crock that is split. Today the poet must construct his own society and his own stability. The wonder is, in a period when communication between the poet and the audience is obstructed by all the barricades and crevasses of a world in change, that the quality and number of these tours de force are as great as they are. Fortunately poetry commands other means of communication, which are, however, more often than not ignored by those who boast that they do not understand it. Melody and rhythm, since they are not bound up with words, which are far more subject to political and social influences—as well as to simple colloquial pressure that wears out words and vulgarizes their meanings—have had a far more persistent continuity. Merely as music Tarry Delight carried its own justification.

And speaking of semantics: T. F. Higham, in his introduction to the "Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation," published here some months ago, discusses the problem of "adherent meaning" met with in selecting translations for inclusion in a book designed for modern readers. Dr. Johnson, he writes, objected to a line in "Macbeth": "That my keen knife see not the wound it makes." To Dr. Johnson a knife was "an instrument used by butchers and cooks in the meanest employments." But was it so to Shakespeare? "When Ruskin," continues Mr. Higham, "wrote, addressing his heart, 'Thou little bounder, rest,' he was guiltless of offense—if the dictionaries are right; for the slang use of 'bounder' dates only from 1890."

The following correction to end all corrections appeared on a white page all by itself in the July issue of T. S. Eliot's quarterly, the *Criterion*.

To the Editor of the Criterion

Sir: In a review of "Periodicals" (English) in the *Criterion* (April, 1938) appears the following: "A 'Popular Front,' like muscling-in, is a shadow in which all sorts of toadstools can grow up." (etc.)

The remark, thus misquoted from *New Verse* (January, 1938), should be read (as your reviewer tried vainly to indicate on a galley proof) as follows:

"A 'Popular Front,' like muscling-in, is a shadow in which all sorts of toad stools can grow up." (etc.)

Yours, etc.,

HUGH GORDON PORTEUS

I hope the printer has set it right.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Drifting Toward Munich

FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MAKING. By Carl Joachim Friedrich. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

EVEN Mr. Chamberlain, who claimed a few weeks ago to have established peace in our time, may realize today that the Pact of Munich was not the beginning of peace but only another stage in the relentless war which Hitler and Mussolini are waging against liberalism and the Western powers. Professor Friedrich in his penetrating analysis of European international relations since the World War rightly points out that to the anxious query, "Is there going to be war in Europe?" the answer must be that it has already begun. "Perhaps in 1966 we shall be looking back sorrowfully to the year 1936, knowing that in that year the second Thirty Years' War commenced. There is no use in deluding ourselves into thinking that peace prevails." In this war the conquest of Ethiopia and the remilitarization of the Rhine marked the beginning; the tragi-comedy of non-intervention in Spain carried us fast down the incline; and now in the third year of the war we have practically arrived at the bottom with the Peace of Munich.

Professor Friedrich's book will serve as a good guide for those perplexed by the momentous changes in the balance of power in Europe. There are still some people in this country who explain Hitlerism as the product of the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles and who see in the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland only the play of self-determination. For them the happenings in Europe are nothing but episodes in the struggle between different power groups. This "realistic" view, often held by "idealistic" pacifists, overlooks the fact that what is going on in Europe today is, whether Mr. Chamberlain likes it or not, a struggle between two opposing attitudes toward life, toward the dignity of the individual, toward the meaning and aim of history and government. The fascist powers are inspired by their philosophy of history, and undoubtedly draw great strength from the enthusiasm engendered by a consistent application of avowed principles. Democracies, on the other hand, live today by a hand-to-mouth policy, meeting every emergency by what seems at the moment the least exacting expedient, apparently forgetful of the fact that a policy can inspire enthusiasm only if it is based upon principles firmly held. But the faith in democracy has been undermined during the last twenty years by the cynical attacks from Marxists, from certain supercilious "liberals," and from fascists. Professor Friedrich believes in liberal democracy. "All government remains a disagreeable, at times even a shocking, concession to human frailty. Democracy continues to be the least objectionable of these connivances. Such is my belief, at least: many things in life are more valuable than order and government."

But this liberal attitude, which stresses the dignity of the individual within the state, must be complemented, as the present book tries to show, by some order and government among and above the different states and nations. Here it is that fascists and democrats fundamentally disagree. Mr. Chamberlain's policy has consistently accepted the fascist principle in foreign policy, from Manchuria, via Ethiopia, the remilitarization of the Rhineland, Spain, China, Austria,

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to Czechoslovakia. The Pact of Munich is nothing but the logical conclusion of this policy. As it is an acceptance of the fascist principle, it implies a great triumph of fascism and necessarily will open the way to further triumphs. The world will be invited to witness what would have happened twenty years ago if the Allies with the help of America had not won the World War. The peace treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest are being revived, and they will be followed by similar peace treaties on a much larger scale. Professor Friedrich's book was written before the Pact of Munich. It does not venture into prophecy, but it shows clearly how the road was traveled from the Treaty of Versailles, which, at least, in spite of all its shortcomings, held out hope for international organization and a rationally ordered world, to the Pact of Munich, which buried all these hopes.

A special merit of Professor Friedrich's book is its demonstration of how the anti-democratic policy of the British Conservatives was inspired by the fear of communism. "The imaginary danger of revolution forestalled any action which might have curbed the progress toward war and international anarchy." In this connection a revealing passage is quoted from the diaries of Lord d'Abernon, the man who as "an ambassador of peace" probably did most to reconstruct German power politics and to weaken France. He wrote:

> From the point of view of English policy a big question presents itself—is a large Russia desirable? . . . English interests are certainly against it. . . . The Balkanization of Central Asia would be an unquestionable relief to English policy. . . . A separatist policy for the Ukraine would unquestionably lead to a safer and more healthy position in the Black Sea, and would facilitate commercial control of the Straits.

Who knows whether Mr. Chamberlain, another ambassador of peace, does not hold similar opinions about the desirability of an "independent" Ukraine? HANS KOHN

Enough Trains

TO THE MARKET PLACE. By Barry Fleming. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

I CAN'T help wondering whether there have been anything like enough trains to hold all the young people that our novelists, in the last twenty years, have been sending to New York. It should give any book reviewer pause to think that in some ways he is much less a Brunetière or a Georg Brandes than a Grover Whalen or a redcap. Well, I've just gone down the ramp to carry the bags of a few more new arrivals; they all seemed fairly pleasant and their bags were fairly light.

Mr. Fleming looks upon his young people, ingeniously if not altogether convincingly, as the pioneers of today—the seekers after adventure who leave what is familiar and secure in Massachusetts and Virginia and Kentucky to battle for independence, recognition, or love in an undiscovered country they like to think of as a land of promise. Fluid as the pattern for such a novel—with its quick interrelationships—is, I am afraid that the neatly varied fortunes of these people possess very little to surprise or excite or enlighten us. There is the New England novelist, floating with the current until he meets a pair of rather startling Communists; there is the painter whom marriage almost domesticates and the family business almost devours; there is the girl who wants love, marriage, a home, and children; there is the girl who doesn't. No one can quarrel with Mr. Fleming's choice of types, for they are eternal, and Grove Street and the East Fifties are full of them. No one can quarrel, either, with Mr. Fleming's treatment of such types—it is natural, honest, and interested. What ultimately disappoints one, I suppose, is the genial competence, the brotherly understanding, unintensified by anything sharp or subterranean or unforeseeable, with which they are portrayed. One need not be working from any revolutionary, highbrow, or "proletarian" thesis to insist that this study of middle-class minds and manners is too traditional, too familiar, and, coming after so many others like it, too unrevealing to arouse the reader. He cheerfully and a little absent-mindedly acquiesces in all Mr. Fleming has to say; but it is never from mere acquiescence that novels are devoured or remembered. LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Three Years of the C. I. O.

THE STORY OF THE C. I. O. By Benjamin Stolberg. Viking Press. $2.

THE fourth volume written on the rise and development of the C. I. O. is apt to cause more argument and anger than all the other three combined. It is the manner of statement rather than the quality of the work which will arouse objection. Writing in the Marxian polemical tradition, Mr. Stolberg naturally denies all merit to his enemies, while those who are doing the work of the Lord are pictured as paragons of virtue. The unnecessary vituperation adds to the entertainment, but it mars a competent job of fact collection, plus an interesting though not altogether sound analysis. Despite the real value of the book it must be read with caution, for Mr. Stolberg is not averse to exaggeration, or to understatement, when it suits his case.

All the virtues and shortcomings of the study are exhibited in the first chapter, dealing with the background of the C. I. O. It contains much truth and some brilliant characterizations written in acid. Yet it is often much less than fair. Our author is aware, though he often forgets, that a trade union is not an army with flying banners marching to the promised land but a body of workingmen seeking to improve their economic position. There is nothing ignoble in such activity; and the attitude of many left-wing intellectuals is a bit puzzling in view of their emphasis upon a perfectionist economic society in the future. His criticism of the failure of the American Federation of Labor to organize the unskilled avoids completely the question of the ability of organized labor to break through the citadels of industrial absolutism. He seems to forget that the belief that a highly organized working force is capable of defeating a hundred-million-dollar corporation without considerable government aid is largely unproved. His own chapter on vigilantism disproves that contention more eloquently than any critical comment. The facts fail to prove that the federation feared large inroads of new members. If that were true, how could the membership increase during the war be explained? Nor did the craft unionists emphasize skill as much as he intimates.

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Every union, exclusive of a few numerically unimportant ones, has continually broadened its base of admissions. Nor is it accurate to assert that the miners and needle trades escaped the general paralysis affecting organized labor in the twenties. Mr. Stolberg has given the reasons why the decline of the miners' union to the lowest level since 1897 was inevitable in the thirties. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was being aided by the Jewish *Daily Forward* and some public-spirited philanthropists, and even the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was not its old self. It may be all right to claim that the fiber of the A. F. of L. unions was weakened by the prosperity in the twenties, but the great defeats in the early part of the decade should be mentioned. These defeats, inflicted by superior economic force, were proof positive that the American labor movement could not, without some radical changes in the political temper, storm the gates of the mass-production industries. Let us not fool ourselves that industrial unions would have been more successful. The open-shop avalanche of the twenties overwhelmed unions regardless of their structure. What was left to do but to salvage as much of the organizations as possible and wait for a change in the political climate? It must not be forgotten that the American Federation of Labor was the only labor movement of consequence to survive. It is, of course, true that no great organizing drives were undertaken, but such campaigns involve large expenditures, and their success, under the conditions prevailing in the twenties, was extremely doubtful. It is easy to plan million-dollar campaigns, but it is the rank and file which pays the freight. Many of them are, like the rest of us, only limited idealists who rightfully object to large expenditures on quixotic ventures.

The chapters dealing with the rise and expansion of the C. I. O. are well balanced and full of information, especially the one on vigilantism, which is the best short study of that subject yet written. The planning and the direction of the C. I. O. organizing drives and the brilliant execution of the campaigns are explained in sufficient detail to give the reader a picture of the ability and leadership of the heads of the new movement.

There are many other good things to be found in this volume, but the author is too much inclined to treat people as heroes or knaves, though he does recognize a few fools. His attack on John Brophy, like many others in the book, is exaggerated and unkind. Nor is there any point or truth in labeling Thurman Arnold a vigilante. The chapter on factionalism deserves serious study, and it is unfortunate that Mr. Stolberg cluttered up his material with a long aside on the Trotsky-Stalin controversy which tends to give this section the appearance of a grudge fight. His evidence on the harmful nature of Communist activity in the C. I. O. is well marshaled, conclusive, and damning. He is careful not to attack the Communists on the basis of their ideas, but only because of their desire to set up totalitarian regimes within the organizations they control and utilize the unions for the advancement of political ends. In the section on the single unions he is concise and informative, and in many instances he refuses to allow his enthusiasm for the C. I. O. to fool him. However, he guesses wrong on a number of events, which is quite understandable. Mr. Stolberg refuses to admit that Lewis might tolerate the Communists. He would like to believe that Lewis is being fooled. Events in the automobile union throw a slightly different light on the question. Homer Martin has been outmaneuvered, and he is being forced to rid himself of his close collaborators, while the Stalinist officers are being reinstated. Have the top leaders become Communists? Not at all. They want power, centralization, and that policy is favored by the Stalinists, which makes them desirable allies, at least for the time being.

Despite differences of opinion on questions of interpretation, Mr. Stolberg's volume is a valuable and helpful guide to an understanding of the American labor scene. His willingness to attack those whom he regards as enemies of organized labor, regardless of their standing or position, makes his book invaluable for an understanding of important and not much-publicized issues.

PHILIP TAFT

How Japan "Civilized" Manchuria

SECRET AGENT OF JAPAN. By Amleto Vespa. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

IN RECENT months much has been heard concerning the unspeakable excesses committed by Japanese troops after the capture of such cities as Nanking, Hangchow, Paotingfu, and Taiyuan. But it has remained for Amleto Vespa, an Italian secret-service agent formerly in the employ of Chang Tso-lin and later impressed into Japanese service, to show that these atrocities are but a repetition of the terror which has been in existence for years in Manchuria.

Mr. Vespa's stories of wholesale looting and plundering can perhaps be matched by tales of the behavior of other armies in other wars. But so far as I am aware no one has ever set down on paper a more revolting story of Machiavellian cruelty designed to crush the spirit of a great people. As a high, though unwilling, officer in the Japanese secret service, Mr. Vespa participated in many of these schemes. Others he witnessed in carrying out his work. Many of the most dastardly plans were revealed to him by Japanese officials who boasted of Nippon's invincibility.

Japan's system, as outlined by Vespa's chief and substantiated by his own activities, has as its purpose nothing short of reduction of the Chinese to political and economic serfdom. This is to be accomplished by "inducing," by means of threats, kidnaping, and fraud, all well-to-do Chinese to part with their wealth. Case after case is cited of wealthy Chinese who were forced to pay ransom, not once or twice, but repeatedly until their wealth was gone. Under no circumstances are wealthy Chinese allowed to leave Manchuria or transfer their money abroad. Even the suggestion that they desired to do so would bring quick retribution. For keeping the common people in chains the Japanese contrived another diabolical scheme—the stimulation of trade in drugs and women. Almost as soon as the Japanese army has completed its conquest, brothels, cabarets, and tea-houses are opened under Japanese military protection. Prostitutes are imported from Korea and Japan, and local girls are impressed into service. The systematic stimulation of the opium and morphine trade is even more destructive in its effect. In Manchuria the drug trade is a huge monopoly under military

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control. Farmers are "advised" by Japanese agents to stop planting soya beans and grow poppies instead. Before the outbreak of hostilities, shipments of opium were dispatched daily to China proper under the guise of Japanese military supplies. Japanese warships transported opium along the coast, and Japanese gunboats carried the drug into the interior of the country, where Japanese agents distributed it under extraterritorial protection. As Mr. Vespa paraphrases the Japanese strategy: "To kill people with bullets, bombs, and shells costs money; but to kill them with drugs and to reap large profits thereby is not only good business but brilliant military tactics."

But as it turned out, Mr. Vespa's job was not primarily one of spying on the Chinese or terrorizing the white Russians. It was rather that of keeping an eye on rival Japanese groups to see that they did not go too far. More than a half-dozen different kinds of Japanese or Japanese-officered police were operating in Manchuria, and one of the most important jobs of each was that of spying on the others to see that too much loot did not go into private pockets. Mr. Vespa's chief estimated that each police officer usually had from 100,000 to 200,000 yen when he was ready to retire after a couple of years' service in Manchuria. The secret service made no effort to stop this practice, but did try to divert some of the money into the coffers of the Japanese government.

Mr. Vespa's revelations are so sensational and his charges against the Japanese so monstrous that one would prefer to think that he is just another publicity seeker with a grudge against Japan. It happens, however, that his story has been carefully checked by at least four competent persons whose business it has been to keep in close touch with events in Manchuria. I know several of these men personally and accept their indorsement as indicating that in substance the narrative is a true one. Even if only nine-tenths true—and the presumption is of far greater accuracy—it is a book which all Americans interested in the Far East should read.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

A Child's Life

THOSE FIRST AFFECTIONS. By Dorothy Van Doren. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

MRS. VAN DOREN has written a very charming and touching story of the life of a little girl in the early 1900's. She has deliberately limited her canvas to a child's-eye view, and within the limitations she has set herself she is singularly successful. Though the reader occasionally feels a slight irritation at not being allowed a longer or clearer glimpse into the grown-up world, the device is actually a sound one for maintaining his interest. A child must feel the same way about the baffling world over which he has no control.

"Those First Affections" bring to mind "Ah, Wilderness," not merely because it is laid in the same period but because in spite of all emotional or economic complications the world in which the characters move remains so essentially simple and placid. Whether or not the middle class really lived emotionally on so much less intense a level before the radio paced our timing, the automobile our speed and range of activity, is hard to tell. Whether or not Proust is the only novelist who could write nostalgically and bring out the tragic as well as the comforting side of things past, it is too soon to say.

In drawing the character of little Sarah's father, the imaginative inventor who can rarely find a job and never hold one, in describing his relations with his daughter and his wife, Mrs. Van Doren has shown unusual sensitiveness and skill. The continual moving, first from their own house to a hotel, then from one furnished room to another, the child's longing for a home, yet adaptability to whatever way of life her parents impose on her are vividly and movingly told. But in adopting the convention of describing only what a child can see and understand, a writer imposes upon himself the responsibility of giving the reader a sense of knowing and understanding everything the child experiences. And one cannot help feeling after reading this book either that Mrs. Van Doren has not faced the inevitably tragic emotions that would arise from so lonely and difficult a life or that little Sarah is definitely on the Polyanna side.

Perhaps it is unfair to think of "The Turn of the Screw," of "What Maisie Knew," of Mrs. Dobree's "My Cuckoo Sings by Kind," of "The Striplings," but somehow because Mrs. Van Doren's perceptions are so penetrating, her talent so sensitive and discerning, one wishes that the tragic implications in her book had been allowed their logical course. The book is very pleasant to read, but one lays it down unhaunted by the characters, thinking only, "These nice people will get along all right. One needn't worry about them. Times were different then, anyway." That is in itself an achievement, but one has the hope that in her next book Mrs. Van Doren will allow herself a fuller scope.

MINA CURTISS

Civilization in Dahomey

DAHOMEY, AN ANCIENT WEST AFRICAN KINGDOM. Melville J. Herskovits. New York: J. J. Augustin. $12.

MOST educated Americans of today realize that the ancestors of our Negro population had progressed far beyond savagery at the time that Europeans first encountered them. However, few appreciate the high level which they had actually reached. Early visitors to West Africa were impressed mainly by court rituals and the relatively unimportant cultural detail of human sacrifice. As a result, their writings give a picture of somewhat grotesque pageantry interspersed with bloody episodes. It is only in recent years, since trained ethnologists have turned their attention to this region, that the full pattern of native life has begun to emerge in all its richness and complexity.

The present book provides the first adequate description of one of the most advanced cultures in West Africa. It is a sound piece of scientific work presented in language perfectly comprehensible to the layman. It is not recommended to thrill-seekers, but anyone who is interested in the infinite variety of human achievement will find it fascinating reading. The civilization of Dahomey was cast in a different mold from that of Europe, yet it can stand comparison with any-

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thing which existed there prior to the machine age. The Dahomeans were ignorant of writing and slightly although not greatly inferior to sixteenth-century whites in some of their technological processes. However, their religion was as rich in content and ritual, and their social and political organization was both more complex and more efficient. In the development of their governmental system they revealed a positive genius for the working out of details and the establishment of checks and balances designed to keep a horde of officials submissive to the central power.

The sections of the book which deal with the structure of the Dahomean state are of especial interest in these days of resurgent absolutism. Any modern dictator might envy both the power of the king over his quarter of a million subjects and the security of his position. Kings were sometimes overthrown by rival claimants from their own clan, but there were no popular uprisings. The royal position was maintained by a system which ramified so widely and insidiously that force and even propaganda were rendered almost unnecessary. The common people were exploited at every turn, yet the process was rendered as psychologically painless as possible. The various religious cults and the extended family organizations, which might have served as rallying points for discontent, were unostentatiously brought within the scope of the central power and molded to its support. Even the statistics necessary for recruiting and taxation were gathered by such ingenious and indirect methods that the ruler's knowledge of the state of his kingdom seemed, to his subjects, to partake of the supernatural. The difficulty of maintaining such a system in the absence of written records was obviated by a simple but singularly ingenious arrangement. One of the several thousand royal wives was assigned to keep track of each official, being present whenever he transacted business with his superiors and standing ready to report on him at any time.

The social as distinct from the political organization of the Dahomeans shows much the same combination of ingenuity and formalization. The most interesting features to a European are the institution of the best friend and the extraordinary variation in forms of marriage. The best friend provided the individual with a secure relationship unmarred by conflicts of the sort sure to arise in the case of relatives. One suspects that the very number of relatives and the extent of their legal claims had much to do with the development of the institution. In marriage the Dahomeans recognized no less than thirteen forms, each with its own set of clearly defined rights and obligations. Strangest of all from our own point of view was the institution of woman marriage. In this form a woman who had acquired independent wealth and desired to found an independent family line, thus achieving social distinction in this world and the next, bought wives and set up an independent household of her own. Children resulting from the union of these wives with men selected by the female "husband" were regarded as her own even to the point of their addressing her as father. The marriage of descendants of such households was controlled by special rules designed to insure the rapid building up of the line, and strong family groups might be developed in this way. It seems probable that somewhat similar institutions are widespread in Africa, but this is the first time that such an arrangement has been identified and accurately described.

The author makes no attempt to reconstruct Dahomean culture prior to the establishment of the historic dynasty. However, it is plain that this civilization owed little to foreign contacts. It stands as a monument to the intelligence of the West African natives, and this book should do much to dispel any lingering ideas about the intrinsic inferiority of the Negro.

RALPH LINTON

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Words Without Music

MUSIC, HISTORY, AND IDEAS. By Hugo Leichtentritt. Harvard University Press. $3.50.

THIS book undertakes "to connect the facts of the history of music with the history of the human spirit, with general culture in its varied aspects, and with the history of political and social conditions which are of preeminent importance for art and science." And we are informed that it originated in "two series of twelve public lectures on music as a part of general culture, given at Harvard University in 1934-35."

When a man lectures or writes on literature or painting or music the things he says about a play or a picture or a piece of music will have meaning for his hearers only if they have had experience of the play or the picture or the piece of music, or if he gives them experience of it as he speaks or writes. He can assume that most of them know "Hamlet"; but if not it is easy for him to quote the lines that illustrate his point. He cannot, however, assume that they know the music or the architecture of that period; and if he wishes

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to make a point about it he must let the music be heard or reproductions of the buildings be seen. This is something that is more easily done at a lecture than in a book—for which reason it is often not done in the book; and when it is not done the book has no value for the general reader.

I have gone into this because—to take one example—Dr. Leichtentritt in his second chapter wishes to show the similarity between the Gregorian chant and the Romanesque architecture of the same period, which he can do only by allowing his audience to hear examples of the chant, and to hear in these examples the qualities that have their architectural parallels in the Romanesque style, and then to see these parallels in reproductions of Romanesque cathedrals. Possibly he did all this at the lecture; but there is not a note of musical notation, not a single reference to a place on a phonograph record, and not a single photograph in the entire book, which therefore will be only so many fine-sounding words without real meaning to the general reader.

Having myself no thorough knowledge of the music of early centuries and only the vaguest notions of the other arts, I cannot say whether Dr. Leichtentritt's words about them are as valuable as they are fine-sounding. I do, however, know some of Mozart's music fairly well; I also know something of his life—his extraordinary strength and equilibrium and serenity of mind, his bitter statement that he was a better man than some of the well-born who mistreated him—and of the sordid causes of his death; and when I encounter the statement, "There seems to have been something fateful in the circumstance that Mozart died in 1791 just as the French Revolution reached the height of its frenzy. Haydn, robust and masculine, could still profit from the tremendous changes that were brought about by the French Revolution. Mozart, more delicate, extremely sensitive, with an almost feminine susceptibility, was so thoroughly a child of the dying rococo age that the rude shocks of the French Revolution were a fatal blow to him"—when I encounter this pretentious nonsense I close the book.

B. H. HAGGIN

DRAMA

A Good Beginning

LAST year five of our leading playwrights banded together for the purpose of producing their own plays. This fall the new organization has made a brilliant start with Robert Sherwood's "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," at the Plymouth Theater, and Maxwell Anderson's "Knickerbocker Holiday," at the Ethel Barrymore. Both deal with the American past and both celebrate by clear implication the early spirit of our democracy, but there the resemblances stop. Mr. Sherwood has written a stately pageant of Lincoln's progress from log cabin to the Presidency; Mr. Anderson, the libretto for a broadly satiric comic opera in the course of which Peter Stuyvesant, a would-be Führer, gets his come-uppance at the hands of our best-known Dutch uncles. Neither work is exactly what contemporary audiences expect to find in the

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theater, but both are probably destined to considerable success.

Mr. Sherwood has built the action of his play around the familiar crises of Lincoln's life—the tragic love affair with Ann Rutledge, the marriage with Mary Todd, the debates against Douglas, and the assumption of the Presidency at a moment whose dreadful ominousness no one realized more fully than he himself. But despite what seems a conventional outline the emphasis is original, and the interpretation of Lincoln's character at least not exactly that of the story books. As a man, Mr. Sherwood's Lincoln is by nature almost pathologically irresolute, and so reluctant to assume the burden of any responsibility that only the remorseless ambition of Mary Todd could have driven him into action. As a political thinker he is dominated by the realization that democracy is threatened chiefly by those who want to render it lip service alone, and consequently he sees the institution of slavery less as an affront to humanitarian feelings than as the most obvious challenge to the sincerity of that democratic faith upon which the government is nominally founded. To him the question is not primarily whether our black brothers have hearts and souls like our own but whether the admission of an exception in the application of democracy does not set a dangerous precedent and mean that the theoretical right of all to liberty and equal opportunity will come to be actually enjoyed by fewer and fewer rather than by more and more American citizens. Perhaps—I do not pretend to know—Mr. Sherwood is attributing to Lincoln a deeper prophetic insight than he actually had into what was to become one of the most desperate problems of democracy, but in any event the result intended and achieved is to give the historical events of his play a clear modern application and to make it almost as much of an exhortation as it is a pageant.

There are obvious dangers in the attempt to combine in one play two appeals of a radically different sort. The audience here is asked to draw in its own mind the historical parallel, and while it is occupied with this intellectual process, to respond to a peculiarly complex emotional stimulus, to sense the pathos (in the technical sense) which surrounds those figures concerning whose fame and whose fate we know much more than the particular play in which they appear pretends to tell us. That Mr. Sherwood's drama is actually effective both as legend and as lesson is a tribute to his skill, and "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" is always impressive as well as always stately. Despite an extraordinarily fine performance by Raymond Massey, it is not, however, always exciting. Its forward march is sometimes slow, and if the didacticism is never fatuous the stateliness does not always escape a certain ponderosity. In the past Mr. Sherwood has frequently been almost too lively. That is not a fault likely to be charged against him in a play whose most serious defect is a certain lack of vivacity.

Mr. Anderson's extravaganza has also its lessons. In fact, both the dialogue and the lyrics are rich with satiric implications not any the less telling for being, as they usually are, both broad and funny. Under the circumstances one need not worry if Peter Stuyvesant's conception of the totalitarian state seems suspiciously modern or if the unhappy political choices with which the burghers are faced bear a striking resemblance to our own. I am, however, inclined to think that both Mr. Anderson as librettist and Kurt Weill as com-

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poser deserve even more credit for the broad demonstration that musical comedy need not be empty and dull than they do for the specific points of their satire, excellent though much of it is. Certainly no theatrical form is so obviously decadent, so clearly afflicted with pernicious anemia, as the musical show. Ordinarily it is no longer even vulgar, and refinement has meant only the gradual elimination of one element after another until nothing is left except a collection of plain young ladies listlessly chanting deliberately casual words to affectedly casual tunes. Mr. Weill and Mr. Anderson have changed all this. The former demonstrates again, as he has demonstrated before, that he can write meaty tunes. The latter has not only provided a satiric tale which makes sense but boldly gone back to that tradition of musical comedy which assumed that "sophistication" was less important than liveliness. Moreover, the whole thing has been staged by Joshua Logan as though it were indeed an operetta, not a parlor entertainment. Much is not new. In fact, much is very old, for the collaborators do not scorn even things as conventional as the chorus of merry Dutch maidens with scrubbing brush and bucket. But the effect upon me and upon the rest of the audience as well was surprisingly exhilarating, for the result of combining literate lyrics and a coherent plot with robust music and honest low comedy was to make "Knickerbocker Holiday" the first musical show of several years in the middle of which no one went to sleep. Walter Huston as Peter Stuyvesant proves that he is still one of the finest actors on the American stage; the leading feminine role is played by a new soubrette, Jeanne Madden, who possesses not only an excellent voice but great physical charm and a fine sense of style.

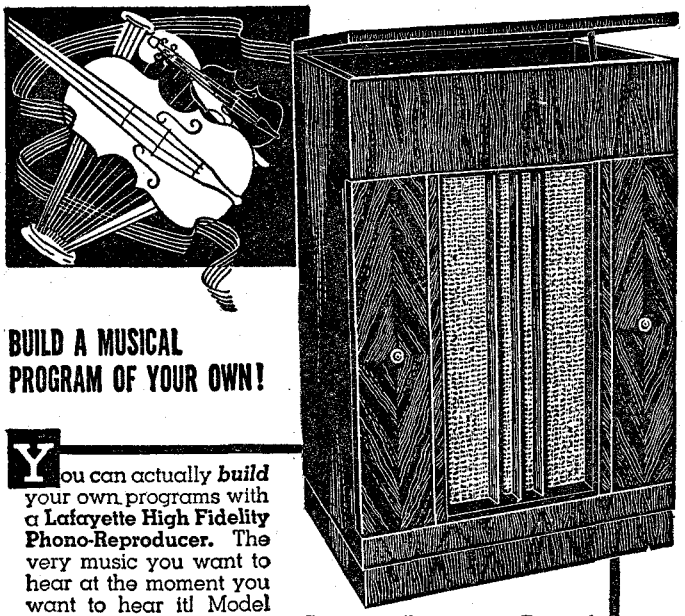
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ART

The Bronzes of Shang

WHAT very possibly is the most magnificent bronze work produced by man during the course of his existence is richly represented in the exciting exhibition of Chinese, mainly early ceremonial, bronzes at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is the decorative bronze of "the great city Shang" and the dynasty which ruled in the loamy yellow plains of Anyang from about 1766 to 1122 B. C. The extensive pillage of the ancient graves of the region during the last six or seven years and the more orderly scientific excavations have only very recently brought it to light again. Today the bronzes of Shang constitute the great prizes of museums and private collections.

They are sacrificial vases, monster-masks, caldrons, canisters, libation cups, vessels for food and for wine, finials of poles, fittings for chariots, ax heads and bells evidently produced by the *cire perdue* process in sunk-relief and low-relief techniques; and they conform altogether to some thirty-one distinct shapes and possess some thirty-eight ornamental characteristics. Among the shapes are that of an inverted helmet to which legs or horns have been added and the forms of



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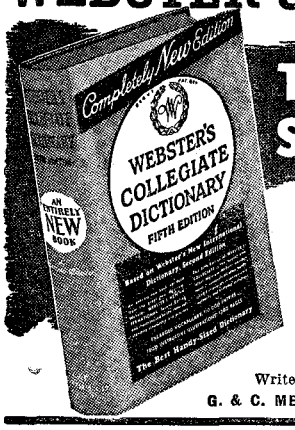

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owls, sundry beasts, and chimeras. Among the decorative motives are whorls in low relief and beaks and staring eyes. What constitutes the magnificence of the bronzes besides the fineness of the workmanship is the designs and proportions. The designs, which are somewhat grotesque and rarely approach the naturalistic, are marvelously large, bold, and strong. And though the workmen may be thought to have aimed at power and emphasis rather than at fineness of design and ornament, some of the decorations none the less have considerable elegance. The spatulas on certain urns emerge from the bronze like leaves from their stalks. And the proportions are perfection itself.

There is no doubt that these ceremonial instruments represent fierce feelings about the heavens, the earth, and man. Yet their full and wonderful unity of elements points to powerful contesting impulses thoroughly balanced and integrated. And the art is dynamic. The shapes seem loaded with force and have a feeling of infinity. What reposes before us in the cases of the museum indubitably is representative of a heroic culture that contrasts with our own.

The men of Chou conquered the men of Shang in 1122 B. C. but adopted the expressions of their culture and added new stylistic elements—the mat pattern in particular. Yet the expressions of the Chous bear somewhat the same relation to those of the Shangs as those of the Romans bore to the art of the Greeks. As Alan Priest, the superintendent of the brilliant exhibition—to which many museums and individuals have contributed—has written:

> The early Chou things are more robust, more powerful, more broadly planned, more accomplished. The monster-masks and animals in relief come more boldly out—a bit like champion boxers. . . . [But] the finest type of Shang bronze is vibrant and electric in its execution. The very shapes . . . are young and alive. One can almost see them grow, as one sees seemingly static spears of young bamboo and knows that even in the afternoon they will be taller and stronger.

To the deep, entirely new past which during the recent years has been rising about present existence, the bronzes of Shang thus have added another new horizon. What helps render this one particularly interesting is the circumstance that there are numerous specific similarities between the decorative art of Shang and the style called the Pacific. This is the style of certain tribes of North American Indians. And the circumstance seems to point to a common root. But whether such a root existed, and what is the real connection between the high culture of ancient Anyang and that of the red man, remains to be discovered. PAUL ROSENFELD

Lists for Christmas

In forthcoming issues of *The Nation*—

Notable Books of 1938: selected by the editors of *The Nation.*

Plays of the season, by J. W. Krutch.

Selected lists of Records, by B. H. Haggin.

Books for children, by Lena Barksdale.

Books of all publishers may be ordered through *The Nation's* Readers' Service Division.

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Letters to the Editors

Codfish Day in Barcelona

Dear Sirs: It is no longer news when a score of people are killed and four score wounded in an air raid on Barcelona, although it would be so—as yet—in New York, or London, or Paris. Today was "*bacalao* (codfish) day" in the big market in Barceloneta. It won't come again in that place, for the market is now a heap of stone and fallen tiles. The women were happy; dried codfish makes a very good meal and it is scarce these days. The queue was being served when, suddenly—you don't see them at 5,500 feet up, although you hear the guns go off as they pass. Someone else later sees that the market is wrecked.

Everything is cleared away immediately. It happened at 10:30 this morning. At 4 p. m. the guards stationed round the spot let me pass but had no answer when I asked if many were killed and wounded here. There is no hysteria or excitement in the surrounding streets. Workmen quickly demolish a house that has been hit and is likely to fall.

There are no factories or barracks in Barceloneta; nothing but humanity. Two women pass and stop to comment on the destruction. One says to me, "Have you noticed whether any fish is being sold along here?"

At 9 p. m. I talked with Captain Johns, British sea captain in the mercantile marine, who has been bringing food and coal here for many months on his little old ship, the Bobby. It has become famous through being hit so often. "Eight British ships hit today," said Captain Johns. Just then the lights went out in the hotel—another raid.

What can you do? You can send food. Give your dollars. They arrive in the form of milk for the children, tinned meats, and all kinds of essentials. I have tasted them in these last weeks through the generosity of the Spaniards' sharing. NANCY CUNARD

Barcelona, October 14

The Lesson of Melos

Dear Sirs: Being myself a devotee of Thucydides, I was pleased to see that Mr. MacLeish had applied to the recent crisis in Europe the lessons taught by this great historian. I am afraid, however, that his application is misleading.

Mr. MacLeish mentions the years of "insecure peace" which followed the events at Melos. He fails to mention that one of the events which resulted in this insecurity was the stubborn resistance of the Melians to the Athenian threats. In the course of the destructive war brought on by this resistance it became clear that the Athenians had been right in saying: "It is for the interests of us both that you should not be destroyed."

Any analogies that may be found in these events look in the opposite direction from Mr. MacLeish's. Though we deplore Hitler's dictatorship over Europe, many of us who have studied history feel the present peace to be more secure than any peace that could follow a war of resistance to fascism. That is what Melos teaches. EDWARD T. LADD

Ojai, Cal., October 25

Diethylene in Cigarettes

Dear Sirs: I was much gratified by Mrs. Woodward's prompt correction of that part of her recent article dealing with the use of diethylene glycol as a hydroscopic agent in cigarettes. I think that your readers' understanding of the still acute problem of extending existing government controls into the field of cigarette manufacture and advertising will be aided if the following facts of record are put before them:

There is, to my knowledge, no scientific proof of Mrs. Woodward's *positive* statement that "the diethylene really did the cigarettes no harm, nor did it hurt the people who smoked them."

The position of the American Medical Association, as stated editorially by Dr. Fishbein, is limited to the quite different *negative* statement that " there is no evidence that diethylene glycol as used in cigarettes is harmful." This statement must be coupled with the statement of Dr. A. J. Carlson, head of the Department of Physiology of the University of Chicago, who says in a letter to the writer, quoted with his permission both here and in the 1938 Yearbook of the American Association for Social Security:

> I know of no reliable evidence as to whether the amount of diethylene glycol in Philip Morris cigarettes is or is not injurious to man. Reliable evidence on this problem would be a long and expensive undertaking, because the injuries, if any, will be slight and chronic in the amount of diethylene glycol that would enter the body from smoking these cigarettes. However, it would seem a clear matter of wisdom to exclude this poison from cigarettes, at least until possible evidence of harmlessness is available. Everybody knows the difficulty of securing reliable evidence in cases of substances that have or may have very slight but chronic injurious action. The reason, of course, is that many of the organs and systems in our bodies may be injured extensively before any evidence of such injury is available. . . .
>
> Thus Dr. Fishbein's editorial statement that "there is no evidence that diethylene glycol as used in cigarettes is harmful" is of course true, but the contrary statement is also true, namely, that there is no evidence at present that it is harmless. I think the people responsible for the advertising copy of Philip Morris cigarettes are using unduly, if not unfairly, the so-called medical approval of these cigarettes.

I have consulted a number of qualified experts on this matter. All of them agree without reservation with the position taken by Dr. Carlson. I point out further that it is not only the right but the duty of reputable scientists like Dr. Carlson to publish expert opinion on matters affecting the public interest. Finally, it is surely significant that the Food and Drug Administration specifically bans the use of diethylene glycol in products under its control (these do not include cigarettes).

JAMES RORTY

New York, October 26

A British Reader Protests

Dear Sirs: Excuse a bitter letter from one of your British readers who has hitherto been—and wishes to remain—an admirer of the United States but finds that American criticisms of the Munich agreement stick in his throat. In the last week of September—I hope that America never has to go through such a week—we were faced with the choice between leaving democratic Czechoslovakia to its fate and starting a war which would mean the probable death of our wives and children and the ruin of our homes. We decided that democracy in Czechoslovakia was not worth the price.

If democracy in Czechoslovakia con-

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cerned anyone outside Czechoslovakia, it concerned all democratic countries equally—the United States just as much as Great Britain or France. But all that came out of America was a grandmotherly note from President Roosevelt with a clause about undertaking no European commitments specially inserted to show that no attention need be paid to it. If your President was right, then Chamberlain and Daladier were a thousand times more so. At any rate, before any American talks about "betrayal of Czechoslovakia" or of "democratic principles," let him show that he himself in that last week of September was doing all in his power to urge his own country to do whatever he blames Great Britain and France for not doing.

ARTHUR M. MACIVER

Leeds, England, October 5

Were We Deceived?

Dear Sirs: The consistency of your stand on collective security for months past has been excellent. But I think you have been over-naive of late—both during the recent European hullaballoo and since.

Was there at any moment during those tense weeks any real danger of immediate war? Was Chamberlain's brief radio speech any more than a last-minute grandstand play? Was any climax ever more carefully staged than that moment in Parliament when Chamberlain was handed the German letters —and proceeded to burst into tears? Consider the theatrical means used to frighten whole peoples. Armies mobilized, navies sent out, gas masks passed out in wholesale quantities—in these days when poison gas is not a frequent weapon of aerial bombardment. All so that the peoples of France and England would accept any peace, even this most shameful one, with a sense of relief.

You were right in remarking that we were given a constant picture of the rapidly shifting scene. How accurate this picture was is another matter. You seem to feel that it was as accurate and as honest as the emotions of those days would permit. But I remember Mr. Kaltenborn's frequent statement that he was trying to arouse American public opinion to appreciate the gravity of the total situation and also of England's position. Who commissioned Mr. Kaltenborn to arouse American public opinion to an appreciation of the British position? Was it his own idea or was it his company's instructions?

As to the broadcasts from Europe, I recall one from London given from across the street from 10 Downing Street. Over the speakers one could hear the continued shouting of the crowd in support of Prague. It sounded like the voice of a large and determined crowd. We were told, however, that it came from a very small group which "happened" to be stationed directly beneath the balcony window.

ALAN MACNEIL

Chester Depot, Vt., October 24

Monument to an Era

Dear Sirs: On a trip through the Black Hills of South Dakota I passed the monuments of the Presidents which Gutzon Borglum is grandly chiseling on the face of a mountain—Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt (leaving a peak for Franklin Roosevelt when his place in history is properly appraised). Compassionately I thought it too bad there should be no recognition there of President Coolidge.

But at Rapid City, where Mr. Coolidge made the one speech for which he is remembered, "I do not choose to run," I found that the political and social era he personified is nobly remembered with a monument. On a hill back of Rapid City is a sculptured group of dinosaurs. The natives assured me that the statues of the pre-historic monsters are simply to advertise that dinosaur bones were found in that vicinity. Overmodest, they were concealing the fact that Rapid City had the wisdom properly to appraise the Coolidge Era, and the wit to express its discovery in the form of a gigantic sculptured cartoon.

A. L. P.

Berkeley, Cal., October 20

WPA Index of Research

Dear Sirs: The results of some 2,000 research projects carried on as part of the federal work-relief program are summarized briefly in a digest and index which has been published by the Works Progress Administration. This volume of 291 pages contains a concise statement of the principal conclusions of each study and an alphabetical subject index to the contents. The reports touch upon nearly every field of natural and social science. Many of them have appeared as articles in scholarly journals, but several hundred are in manuscript form, and arrangements have been made with the American Documentation Institute whereby microfilm copies of the original reports will be furnished at nominal rates for the use of research specialists.

A limited supply of copies of this Index of Research Projects is still available. Requests should be addressed to the Works Progress Administration in Washington.

HAROLD R. HOSEA, Editor
Index of Research Projects

Washington, October 26

Bouquet for Mr. Zabel

Dear Sirs: I have just read a book review in *The Nation* which is so beautifully written and at the same time so accurate that I want you to commend the author for me. It is a review of Virginia Woolf's "Three Guineas," by Morton Dauwen Zabel. I don't know Mr. Zabel but I shall certainly read everything he writes from now on.

KARL A. MENNINGER

Topeka, Kan., October 20

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